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ABSTRACT

The decision to create Great Britain's Open University and stages in the preparation of higher education reforms are considered. The current position of the Open University in relation to its original goals is also addressed, and the policy implementation process is examined to determine why the Open University achieved some of its original goals but not others. Attention is directed to the initial proposal for a University of the Air, and of nationally organized correspondence college courses, the advisory committee stage, the planning committee stage, the reaction of others to the proposed reform, factors underlying the survival of the proposed reform, and goal changes during the policy formulation stage. Five types of goals are distinguished: the intended students, the curriculum, teaching methods, the organizational framework, academic standards, the size and cost of the new institution. It is suggested that the present Open University is very similar to that proposed by the planning committee in terms of teaching methods, curriculum, and organizational framework. However, the university has met with only limited success in terms of creating genuine equality of opportunity. It has largely failed to achieve the informal goal of attracting large numbers of working class students. The first students were offered places in September 1970, and 24,200 began their studies in January 1979. In the first year foundation courses were offered in arts, social science, math and science, and technology was added in 1972. Higher level courses were later offered, together with courses in educational studies. Statistical data, an organizational chart, and a bibliography are appended. (SW)

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IMPLEMENTATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS

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THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM

HE 014 774

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by Alan Woodley

June 1981

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A. Woodley.

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C O N T E N T S

Introduction, by Ladislav Cerych i

The Open University of the United Kingdom. A short description xi

Part I - THE POLICY FORMULATION STAGE 1

1.1 Introduction 1
1.2 Stages in the preparation of the reform 4
1.3 The initial proposal 4
1.4 The Advisory Committee Stage 8
1.5 The Planning Committe Stage 11
1.6 Informal goals 21
1.7 The reaction of others to the proposed reform 22
1.8 Factors underlying the survival of the proposed reform 25
1.9 Goal changes during the policy formulation stage 28
1.10 The nature of the formal goals 30

Part II - THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REFORM 32

2.1 Attainment of formal and informal goals 32
2.2 Unforeseen outcomes 40
2.3 Opinions concerning the outcomes of the reform 41
2.4 Original goals versus actual outcomes 44

Part III - THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION 45

3.1 A brief factual account 45
3.2 The early stages of implementation 46
3.3 Two early crises and their management 48
3.4 The attitudes of others towards the Open University 50
3.5 The financial climate 52
3.6 Some internal developments 53
3.7 The Open University's informal goals and the implementation process 57

Part IV - CONCLUSIONS 60

References 63

Appendix : Figures and tables 67

Introduction : The Open University in an international perspective.

This case-study is one of a group of ten undertaken in the course of a wide-ranging international project conducted by the Institute of Education of the European Cultural Foundation in Paris. The studies focus on the following topics :

- the creation and development of the Instituts universitaires de technologie (IUTs, or "University Institutes of Technology) in France ;

- proposals for and development of the Gesamthochschule (Comprehensive University) in the Federal Republic of Germany ;

- the creation and development of the University of Cosenza (Calabria) in Italy ;

- the development of a co-ordinated system of short and long-term technical higher education in Hungary ;

- the introduction of a "Preferential Point System" in favour of admission to higher education of students from workers' and peasants' families in Poland ;

- the introduction of the 25/5 admission rule to higher education in Sweden ;

- the creation and development of the University of Umeå in Sweden ;

- the creation and development of Regional Colleges in Norway ;

- the creation and development of the University of Tromsø in Norway ;

- the creation and development of the Open University in the United Kingdom.

All these studies represent special cases of changes (reforms or policies) deliberately introduced into the higher education systems of the countries in question in the course of the 1960s or early 1970s. They were part of a widespread attempt to adapt higher education to emerging new requirements, to its extended goals and functions, and also to the consequences of what was, at the time, a period of continuing expansion. Different authors had different names for this movement ; probably the best known designation is the one coined by Martin TROW : a 'transition from elite to mass higher education'.

Implicitly, therefore, the present study, as well as the other nine, deal with some aspect of this transition, although their common denominator and main focus of interest are different. They all attempt to answer one fundamental question which is also the key question of the project as a whole : how is one to explain the difference between the original aims and final outcome of a higher educational reform ?

This question was motivated by a relatively simple observation. Little more than a casual survey is required to appreciate that very few of the numerous higher educational reforms of the 1960s and early 1970s have achieved their original objectives fully. In most cases we can speak of partial achievements only, sometimes even of a dissolution of the initial aims, sometimes of their distorsion or substitution by others. The phenomenon is well known in the field of organisational theory and, more recently, of policy implementation analysis, but it

has very rarely been applied in practice to higher education policies. It is worth enquiring as to whether a more careful analysis of these recent reforms provides a better understanding of what really happens.

Of course, every participant in a reform process is ready with an explanation, often very simple, at least as far as his or her own reform is concerned : universities resist change, professors are conservative, bureaucracy has killed the innovation, there are not enough resources, and so on. Yet a closer look at any of the reforms will reveal that things are much more complicated and that, in fact, the terms 'success' and 'failure' of a policy must be used with utmost caution, Success or failure with regard to which and whose criteria ? Achievement or non-achievement in respect to conditions and requirements prevailing at the outset or at a later stage ? It is this kind of reflection which has inspired the attempt at a closer study.

More specifically, three questions form the core of a common outline for all the case-studies :

1. What were the original goals of the reform, new institution or policy and how did they take shape ?

2. What are its present manifestations and results, especially with respect to the initial objectives and to other aims, formal and informal, which may have emerged later ?

3. What were the different factors which influenced these results, whether negative or positive : how did they interrelate, and what were the missing ingredients ?

In short, further information was required about objectives, results and the factors explaining them.

Policy evaluation was little more than an indirect aim of the project, which has sought essentially to improve understanding of the process whereby certain objectives were transformed into realities and, hopefully, to unearth findings relevant to future policies. As suggested in its title "Implementation of higher education reforms", the project as a whole (though not necessarily its different case-studies) was, to a considerable extent, based conceptually on policy implementation literature, primarily of American origin[1]. In this connection it might be said that implementation analysis has been used to elucidate the problems of transition from elite to mass higher education and, possibly, the validity of the whole concept, especially in the new climate of diminished growth.

At the same time, it is hoped that analysis of the implementation of new higher education policies will increase understanding of policy implementation in general, in such a way that the project will make a contribution to the wider more theoretical framework of contemporary political (or policy) sciences. Whether it succeeds is a question which future readers of the different case-studies and of the forthcoming general report will eventually have to judge for themselves.

The aim of the general report itself, to be published in a separate volume, is to provide a comparative analysis of the main findings of this and the nine other case-studies. It seemed particularly important, in this comparative perspective, to determine how different factors in the implementation process - such as the support or resistance of groups concerned by the reform, the clarity or ambiguity of policy goals, and changes in social economic conditions - operate in different national contexts and in different combinations or interrelations with

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1) European literature on the subject is scarce, and it was hoped that the project might make a significant contribution to work in this field.

each other. Clearly, what succeeds or fails in one national and historical context does not produce the same results in another, so that probably only a comparative approach is likely to produce findings which have a broader validity, going beyond purely national or local circumstances,

However, all ten case-studies are self-contained and can be read independently of each other and of the general report, As to this one, its findings are, we believe, highly relevant not only for the project as a whole but also for a better understanding of an important reform effort within British higher education and, hopefully, of the development of European higher education in general,

Such merits as can be attached to the study unquestionably reflect of course the ability and insight of its author, to whom we wish to express here our sincere thanks for the patience with which he received our comments on previous drafts, taking into account the general outline and orientation of the necessary research, as well as a number of specific questions to which we sought an answer for the sake of our own international and comparative perspective. We should further like to express our gratitude to Naomi McIntosh, Head of the Survey Research Department of the Open University and Sam Crooks, Admission Officer both of whom facilitated greatly the launching of this study.

Reverting to the overall international perspective of the projet for which this study was undertaken, we wish now to add a few brief remarks on what, as outside observers and students of the

policy implementation process, we have learned from the development of the British Open University.

Of all innovations in higher education in the last ten to twenty years, the British Open University is perhaps the best known. It is also probably one of the most successful.

The terms "success" or "failure" are of course very relative and subjective, and we have tried to avoid them as much as possible in this project. Indeed, one of the main conclusions which we reached following the study of some ten new policies or reforms was that they have always been a mixture of both. They reflect an amalgam of fulfilled, partially fulfilled and unfulfilled objectives as well as of intended, unintended, sometimes positive, sometimes negative results.

But even in this perspective, the Open University represents a very special case in which the level of positive achievement is particularly high. Inevitably, agreement as to the desirability of what has been achieved is not unanimous. For instance, there are, those who feel that the university might more profitably have attempted to develop teaching methods and content geared specifically to the needs of the most underprivileged social groups, even if possibly at the expense of academic standards. This, however, is beside the point since we are not interested here in the desirability or otherwise of the objectives originally formulated but in the extent to which (for better or for worse) their implementation was successful.

There are many indicators to confirm the truth of this statement. They include the numbers of Open University students, applicants and courses offered, credit by other British universities, as well as institutions established both in Europe and the Third World on OU model. The challenging question for implementation analysis is thus as follows : can we identify the factors and circumstances primarily responsible for this favourable

development and, if so, can it be established that they were absent from other less successful reforms (i.e. those in which a smaller proportion of the initially declared objectives were actually achieved) ?

The first of these factors, the role and commitment of a few strong individuals during both the policy formulation and implementation stages, is well known and sufficiently described in the present case-study. Harold Wilson, Jennie Lee, and the first Open University Vice-Chancellor, Walter Perry, represent to a large extent the type of person whom Eugene Bardach called "fixer" and whose existence is almost always an indispensable prerequisite for successful implementations. Though such individuals were conspicuous in the policy formulation of higher education innovation and reform elsewhere in Europe, their presence was far less noticeable when it came to the implementation of the new proposals.

Other instrumental factors are summarised in the conclusions of the present study. They include commitment to the university's principles of its initial staff members, the general public support which it received and the lack of opposition which it encountered. Again, it is interesting to note how often these conditions were not present and combined in other higher education reforms.

Aside from the highly effective implementation strategy[1)], I would suggest that there are at the very least two additional factors which appear to have contributed to the success of the Open University.

First, although the Open University represents a radical innovation, it was in certain respects, very much in tune with certain traditions of British higher education and, in particular, so-called "distance education" or "study at distance". This concept, almost unheard of in most other Western European countries, had in fact been applied in Britain since the first part of the 19th century in the form of external degrees

1) For example the fact that representatives of traditional universities were active at all stages in the conception and planning of the new institution. Almost inevitably therefore, existing universities did not feel threatened as they often did in other countries.

of the University of London. Moreover, British universities in general had for a long time been involved in adult education and "extension work" to a much greater extent than their continental counterparts. In other words, there was a broadly favourable historical tradition into which the Open University could be introduced.

This factor is not without significance in certain other cases. For example, the 25/5 admission scheme in Sweden was introduced with virtually no resistance, at least partly because of the highly developed national commitment to adult education. The same applies to the Regional Colleges created and developed in Norway as a new form of higher education, which from the start boasted a very satisfactory student intake with no "status problems" of the kind faced by many non-university higher education establishments in other countries. Unquestionably acting in favour of the colleges were again certain forces deeply rooted in Norwegian society including the traditional widespread popularity of non-university higher education, itself the result of factors such as the geographic dispersion of the population, and its feeling for local autonomy and pragmatism.

When insisting on the importance of a favourable historical tradition as a factor in a successful policy implementation, I do not of course wish to detract in any way from the merits of all those involved in the creation and development of the Open University. I feel on the contrary that one of the great achievements was precisely to have built a highly innovative institution on such favourable grounds[1].

A second factor of key importance in a comparative perspective in shaping the Open University's achievements has been, in my view, the scale of the innovation introduced by the new policy.

There is no doubt that the Open University represented an important breakthrough in higher education and a considerable deviation from its prevailing patterns. However, this breakthrough and deviation related essentially to no more than two issues : there were the University's

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1) Notwithstanding Harold Wilson's statement that his original inspiration resulted from contacts and observations he made whilst travelling abroad.

admissions system ("first come first served" irrespective of educational background) and its principal operative technique based on distance teaching including the use of new media. In several other respects, the University rigorously maintained conventional rules and criteria, particular in regard to academic standards , its charter and governance, the qualification of teaching staff and even, to a large extent, its educational content. The experience of the Open University leads, I suggest, to a very significant more general conclusion : a radical innovation in one area must, in order to succeed, be counterbalanced by a strict adherence to prevailing values in others. Expressed differently and perhaps more trivially,higher education reform, if it is to succeed, must not aim to change simultaneously too many aspects of the system as it stands at the outset. There are many instances in which this "rule" has been disregarded. Such is the case, for example, of the German *Gesamthochschule* (comprehensive university) which was expected to become a fresh organisational model for all higher education throughout the country and at the same time, to develop a different teaching staff structure and admission system, not to mention internal new decision-making processes and curricula. Very few of these objectives were achieved and none of them fully. Similarly, the French reform of 1968 clearly attempted too much at once for either all its aims to be partially successful, or any of them to be entirely so.

Clearly, a reform limited to a single institution, especially when this is newly created, is easier to implement than one applying to a whole system. But in both cases the chances of positive achievement are much greater if only one or very few areas (such as admission criteria, "governance" and curriculum or teaching matters) are regarded as targets for change at any one time. The experience of the Open University proves that in such a case innovation can be successful, even when it is of a very far-reaching or radical nature.

Ladislav Cerych
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THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM -
a short description

(i) The Open University is an autonomous body established by Royal Charter and financed by the Department of Education and Science. Its headquarters are sited in the new city of Milton Keynes, forty-five miles north-west of London.

(ii) The University began teaching in January 1971 and now has over 75,000 students throughout the United Kingdom. Some 30,000 students have already obtained degrees.

(iii) The University offers higher education to adults who can not, or do not wish to enter a full-time institution. Most Open University students are in full-time employment or bringing up a family while they study.

(iv) No educational qualifications are required for entry. Places are allocated on a first-come, first-served basis.

(v) The Open University is a distance teaching institution with its students studying at home in their own time. They are taught by a combination of correspondence texts, television and radio broadcasts (produced in partnership with the British Broadcasting Corporation), other audio-visual techniques (records, cassettes, film-strips, etc.) and face-to-face tuition.

Students receive texts regularly through the post and related radio and television programmes on BBC channels; they can meet their tutors at local study centres and at residential summer schools. They also receive specially designed kits for science and technology courses involving practical experiments.

(vi) Undergraduates have a choice of over 100 courses which are produced by six Faculties: Arts, Mathematics, Science, Social Science, Technology and Educational Studies. For an Ordinary BA Degree students must earn six credits; a BA (Honours) Degree requires eight credits. A credit is awarded for the successful completion of a full year-long course, and a maximum of two such courses can be studied in a year. Students who may choose any combination of courses, do not have to gain credits in successive years, but may if they wish take time off between courses and return to study at a later date. A full-credit course takes from 12 to 15 hours study per week for most students.

(vii) The University also has a continuing education programme of single courses aimed at adults who wish to update their knowledge in vocational areas or to explore new fields of interest. Many courses are available both to continuing education or "associate" students and undergraduates, but there are also some courses exclusive to each group.

PART I THE POLICY FORMULATION STAGE[1]

1.1 Introduction

The idea of a "University of the Air" was not a new one. As long ago as 1926 the educationist and historian J. C. Stobart wrote a memo, while working at the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), advocating a "wireless university". In this section we look at those environmental factors in the late 1950's and early 1960's which were conducive to the Open University being set up when it was.

During this period there were increasing pressures to improve higher and further education. Firstly there was a growing demand for places in higher education. This arose partly from the great increase in the number of eighteen year olds from the post-war "bulge" and partly from the increase in the proportion of well-qualified school-leavers. Secondly, what Harold Wilson was later to call the "white heat" of the scientific revolution was creating the need for the expansion of technological education. The Zuckerman Report of 1959[2] estimated that by 1970 the number of qualified scientists and engineers trained each year would have to be doubled.

Apart from these pressures there was a general feeling that educational opportunities were both inadequate and unequal. The Crowther Committee, which reported in 1959[3], noted that only a small proportion continued in full-time education in their later teens and that this represented a wastage of national resources. Not only was the proportion small but the social background of children was an important factor in determining their educational careers; the lower the social class, the greater the degree of educational wastage. The Robbins Committee, which was set up in 1961 to review full-time higher education, concluded in its report published in 1963[4], that a large-scale expansion was necessary. Everyone with the necessary qualifications, and who wished to do so, should be able to enter full-time higher education. This view was justified on the grounds of social equity and of national needs for trained man-power.

This general mood of expansionism in higher education appears to have led others to consider the position of adults. The expansion

of full-time higher education would come too late for the many thousands of academically able people who had already left school and there were relatively few opportunities for part-time adult students at the higher education level. Furthermore, despite the planned expansion, there would continue to be many young people who were capable of benefitting from higher education yet who could not gain a place or who only decided that they wanted such a place later on in life. As in the case of school-leavers, it made sense in economic terms that these adults should be able to study for degrees and also in terms of social justice. Adults should not be penalised because they were born in the wrong generation or in the wrong social class.

A second factor lay in the growing awareness of the potential of educational broadcasting. Ever since the BBC had begun broadcasting in 1923 there had been educational programmes but a scheme such as the Open University only became feasible in the early 1960's with the increase in the amount of broadcasting time available due to the creation of new channels; an improvement in the coverage and quality of the services; and a growth in the number of radio and television sets in use.

Developments in other countries seem to have provided ideas for Britain on educational television and correspondence teaching. The USSR was of special interest because of the large proportion of undergraduates studying through correspondence courses and in the USA the use of educational broadcasting was well advanced. The success of various broadcasting ventures in Japan, Australia, West Germany and Poland had also been reported in Britain.

These and other factors had led to various proposals, and a few actual experiments, involving distance learning schemes for adults. In 1960 Professor Sir George Catlin suggested a "University of the Air". He proposed "an autonomous system of educational broadcasting under a Corporation on which both the Ministry of Education and the Universities and the Arts Council will be represented".[5] The Corporation would use the new third television channel. There was a pamphlet on the same subject published by the Independent

Broadcasting Company in 1961 by Professor George Wedell[6] and in 1962 R. C. G. Williams of the Institution of Electrical Engineers argued that a "Televarsity" should be established[7]. He maintained that a university employing television, associated correspondence courses, text books and visits to the university could be used to improve facilities for higher education, especially in the field of technology. Members of the Advisory Centre for Education also made important contributions during this period. In the autumn of 1962 Michael Young wrote an article in which he proposed an "Open University" which would prepare people for external degrees of London University[8] and the Centre itself launched two projects. The "Dawn University" which consisted of six televised lectures was successfully completed in October 1963, and the National Extension College (NEC) began its work in the winter of 1962-63. The NEC continues to provide sub-degree and "gateway" courses for students using a combination of correspondence and television teaching.

This then was the climate in which the Open University came into being. We begin with a brief factual account of the stages in the preparation of the reform.

1.2 Stages in the preparation of the reform

The decision to create an Open University, or a "University of the Air" as it was then called, originated within the Labour Party in 1963, when they were in Opposition. On 8th September, 1963, at a rally in Glasgow Harold Wilson, the leader of the Labour Party, announced that his party was working on plans for a University of the Air[9]. The second time the new university was mentioned was a few weeks later at the Labour Party Conference in a speech by Harold Wilson which was entitled "Labour and the Scientific Revolution"[10].

Labour returned to power in October 1964, and in February 1965, Miss Jennie Lee was transferred from the Ministry of Public Buildings and Works to the Department of Education and Science where she was given special responsibility as Secretary for State for the Arts and for supervising the development of the new university. In the summer of 1965 an Advisory Committee was set up whose task was "to consider the educational functions and content of a University of the Air". The White Paper based on the Committee's report appeared in February 1966[11], and a firm commitment was made to the plan in the Labour Party's Manifesto produced for the general election of March 1966[12].

The Labour Party won the 1966 election and in September 1967, a Planning Committee was appointed to formulate detailed proposals for the new university. The Planning Committee's report was published in January 1969[13], and accepted in its entirety by the Government. On July 22nd 1969, the Open University officially received its Charter.

1.3 The initial proposal

Although Harold Wilson was well abreast of developments in Britain, including the work of the NEC, he maintains that the original inspiration for his "University of the Air" resulted from contacts he made whilst travelling abroad and from foreign experiments, particularly in the USA and the USSR[14]. Wilson appeared to have

worked on the plans with little help from the party's research department and although the Report of the Labour Party's Study Group on Higher Education which was published in March 1963[15], proposed a University of the Air, this seems to have been included because the committee were aware of Wilson's interest in the subject. Returning from a visit to the University of Chicago in February 1963, where he had spent time studying the work done by Encyclopaedia Britannica in producing educational films, he sketched out his plans for the new university during the Spring and revealed them for the first time in September in a speech which marked the launching of the Labour Party's pre-election campaign in Scotland. We now look at this speech in some detail.

Wilson introduced the project as:-

> "A dynamic programme providing facilities for home study to university and higher technical standards on the basis of a University of the Air, and of nationally organised correspondence college courses"[16].

Rather than an independent and autonomous university, he envisaged the creation of an "educational trust". This Trust would be representative of "the universities and other educational organisations, associations of teachers, the broadcasting authorities, publishers, public and private bodies, producers capable of producing TV and other educational material"[17]. It would be given State financial help and broadcasting time would be found either by allocation of the fourth TV channel, together with appropriate radio facilities, or by pre-empting time from the existing three channels and the fourth, when allocated. He felt that the University would cater for "a wide variety of potential students" and went on to identify some of the possible beneficiaries:-

> "There are technicians and technologists who perhaps left school at 16 or 17 and who, after two or three years in industry, feel that they could qualify as graduate scientists or technologists. There are many others, perhaps in clerical occupations, who would like to acquire

> new skills and qualifications. There are many at all levels in industry who would desire to become qualified in their own or other fields, including those who had no facilities for taking GCE at O or A level, or other required qualifications, or housewives who might like to secure qualifications in English literature or geography or history"[18].

He also envisaged a variety of teaching strategies. In general, educational programmes would be backed by the provision of text books and other materials related to the courses and facilities would be provided for supplemental studies at other institutions such as technical colleges. However, correspondence courses which were not based on TV or radio programmes would also be available and in some cases special TV and radio features and courses would be used to enrich the provision already made by agencies such as the Workers' Educational Association and university extra-mural departments. Established universities would be requested to provide examination facilities and to award external degrees and diplomas to students reaching a high enough standard in the examinations.

The motivations of students would vary considerably. Some would be seeking qualifications to improve their career prospects while others would wish to study for non-vocational reasons. In the latter case, he cited the case of families intending to holiday abroad who might wish to take a winter course in a foreign language. Probably the largest category would be those who did not formally register for a course but who chose "to enrich themselves by a more passive participation in the educational programmes"[19].

In a speech entitled "Labour and the Scientific Revolution" which he made a few weeks later at the Labour Party Conference, Wilson emphasised that the future influence and welfare of Britain depended upon the extent to which it could come to terms with the world of rapid technological change. The four tasks facing Britain were to produce more scientists, to be more successful in keeping

them in the country, to make more intelligent use of them and to organise industry so that it applied the results of scientific research more purposively. The proposed University of the Air would be relevant to these problems. However, he stressed that it was not merely seen as a means of providing more scientists and technologists. In addition "it could make an immeasurable contribution to the cultural life of our country, to the enrichment of our standard of living"[20].

From these two speeches it would appear that Wilson's main aim in proposing a University of the Air, was to improve economic viability. By harnessing technological advances in the media of mass communication for educational purposes the nation could utilise its untapped talent, especially in the field of science and technology. There was also an element of social justice involved in that it would provide opportunities for those who had not previously been able to take advantage of higher education, but there was little stress on "educational egalitarianism" and certainly no mention of the social class background of potential students.

More cynical observers have suggested that the main reason for Wilson's proposal was to provide electoral capital. In fairness to Wilson, his interest in such a university was aroused before he knew that he would succeed Gaitskill as leader of the party, but it is also true that he used the idea to gain maximum political benefit in both the 1964 and 1966 elections. For many people the whole idea smacked of an election gimmick. By the beginning of 1963 the Labour Party had been in opposition for eleven years and, with the knowledge that a general election had to be called by October 1964, they were certainly looking for new ideas. The general idea of a University of the Air projected the dynamic image the party was trying to create and the actual proposals outlined by Wilson appeared to offer something to everyone. The University would provide all sorts of courses to a great variety of students and there would be technological, economic, egalitarian and cultural gains for the whole country. Other sectors of higher education would not suffer as this was to be a supplement to the

overall provision and the idea of an Educational Trust ensured that other institutions and bodies could participate in the new scheme.

1.4 The Advisory Committee Stage[21]

In the summer of 1965 an Advisory Committee was established by the Government with very specific terms of reference "to consider the educational functions and content of a University of the Air, as outlined in a speech made by Mr. Harold Wilson in Glasgow on 8 September 1963". Miss Lee took the unusual step of chairing the Committee herself and nine of the other twleve members came from universities. Only one was from a technical college and there was no member from the local authorities. The Committee's report formed the basis of the White Paper which was published in February 1966, and it is this document which we look at next.

The Committee felt that the new university would serve three purposes:-

> "It will contribute to the improvement of educational, cultural and professional standards generally, by making available to all who care to look and listen, scholarship of a high order. Secondly, a minority of those showing general interest will want to accept the full disciplines of study and make use of all the facilities offered ... Thirdly, it will have much to contribute to students in many other parts of the world as well as those studying in the United Kingdom".

The idea of an educational trust had been discarded. The University would have its own administrative centre "with a staff of about 40-50 of professional calibre" and, although in the early stages it might be necessary to operate under the aegis of an existing university, it would confer degrees in its own right. Great stress was placed on the fact that academic standards would be carefully safeguarded.

> "From the outset it must be made clear that there can be

no question of offering to students a make-shift project, inferior in quality to other universities".

The University would offer primarily courses leading to degrees, but professional, technical, refresher and conversion courses would also be included. The degrees would be general in nature and would normally take five years or more to complete. Intermediate qualifications could be awarded in the form of certificates, diplomas, or "credits".

The degree courses would include "subjects of contemporary social, industrial and commercial importance; basic subjects like English, mathematics and the foundations of science; and a range of cultural subjects". It would be more difficult to provide courses in science and technology, with their need for practical and laboratory work, but it was felt to be important that the University should make a contribution in these areas. It was recognised that it would probably not be practicable for the University to offer a total of more than ten main subjects, and that some of the subjects might be grouped together as units of one main subject. The presentation of courses would variously involve a combination of television, radio, correspondence courses, programmed instruction, tutorials and practicals, short residential courses, and study and discussions at community viewing or study centres. The main contribution of television would be "to bring lecturers of distinction within easy reach of everyone, to build up the corporate feeling of a University, and to illuminate the crucial steps of a course". The television time required would be "at least two hours at peak viewing time on five evenings a week, with repeats during the day, early morning, late evening and at weekends".

While it was hoped that other educational institutions would co-operate in the production of courses and would lend staff when needed, the Committee felt that the University would best achieve its aims "by firm central control of a fully integrated operation". They therefore proposed an organisational framework which involved a substantial administrative centre which would retain final

responsibility for the planning and presentation of programmes and courses. The work of the central organisation would be backed up by a number of regional centres which would be responsible for "liaison with universities, colleges, extra-mural departments etc. in their areas and for making arrangements for facilities such as libraries, and viewing/listening posts".

As the University's activities would not be confined to degree work, the Committee also proposed that departmental responsibility for the University should rest with the Department of Education and Science rather than with the University Grants Committee. No estimate of the cost of the operation was made but its cost-effectiveness was pointed out as many people could be taught "without requiring vast capital sums to be spent on bricks and mortar".

The Committee assumed that only a small proportion of students would complete a full degree course but felt that those who only completed part of a course or only watched the television programmes would also derive great benefit from the university. They did not say anything about who the students would or should be but it is clear from the following statement that entry to the University should be open to everyone:-

> "Enrolment as a student of the University should be open to everyone on payment of a registration fee, irrespective of educational qualifications, and no formal entrance requirement should be imposed."

Thus there was a clear implication that people with few or no formal qualifications would be able to benefit from the University, although it was also recognised that it would be necessary to provide an advisory service for intending students "which would help them to select suitable courses, for some of which a minimum starting level of qualifications would be advisable". Great play was made of this open access policy in the Labour Party Manifesto for the March 1966 general election, where it was stated that the university would mean "genuine equality of opportunity for millions of people for the first time"[22].

1.5 The Planning Committee Stage[23]

In September 1967 the Government set up a Planning Committee under the chairmanship of Sir Peter Venables with the following terms of reference:-

> "To work out a comprehensive plan for an Open University, as outlined in the White Paper of February 1966, "A University of the Air", and to prepare a draft Charter and Statutes".

The Committee comprised a large number of respected and powerful individuals from the university, adult education, broadcasting and local authority fields. Six of the nineteen members were, or had been Vice-Chancellors. The Committee's report was published in February 1969 and the proposals it contained were accepted immediately by the Government. The Charter, which had been drafted by the Planning Committee, was officially granted to the University on 22 July 1969. To a large extent the Planning Committee's report and the Charter reiterate and elaborate upon points made earlier in the White Paper. However, as these two documents contain what could be termed the "formal goals" of the Open University, we now analyse their contents in some detail.

Before proceeding with this analysis, it is important to note that we are using the terms "goals" and "aims" in their broadest sense. Used in a narrow sense, the goals of an institution of higher education could be defined according to whom and what was to be taught. However, we are also interested in the teaching methods to be employed, the organisational framework and the costs involved. These could be termed the "sub-goals" which are designed to ensure the achievement of the main goals.

The aims of the University were encapsulated in one sentence in the Report:-

> "In summary, therefore, the objects of the Open University are to provide opportunities, at both undergraduate and post-graduate level, of higher education to all those who,

for any reason, have been or are being precluded from achieving their aims through an existing institution of higher education".

It was the Planning Committee's contention that there were many thousands of people in the United Kingdom who had been deprived of higher education in the past through lack of opportunity rather than lack of ability and who would wish to enrol with the Open University. Furthermore, despite the current expansion of higher education, there would continue to be large numbers of school-leavers who could not gain a place although they possessed the necessary entrance qualifications. There would also be many able people who left school at the earliest opportunity yet who realised at a later stage that they wanted or needed higher education. The Committee therefore saw the need for the Open University as a continuing one throughout the foreseeable future. The results of a survey commissioned by the Planning Committee suggested that at that time between 34,000 and 150,000 people would be interested in registering with the Open University immediately.

Although the Report claimed that there was a large latent demand for the Open University it did not specify who the students would or should be. Nevertheless, it did point out that there were many thousands of certificated non-graduate teachers who would wish to acquire graduate status and also that there would be "other significant groups of professional students interested in the University's courses". The Report also noted the under-representation of women in further and higher education and said that "the University will have an unrivalled opportunity to rectify this long-continuing imbalance" One particular group, those aged under twenty-one, were specifically excluded as it was felt that it was always preferable for young people in employment to attend sandwich courses, block-release courses or part-time day-release courses. (There was also a more pragmatic reason for setting the age limit at twenty-one which was that the University did not want to enter into competition with other institutions for students of eighteen. For the University to

succeed it would need the support and co-operation of other institutions in the higher education sector[24]).

At no point in the Report is the target population referred to directly in terms of social class. However, one paragraph is worth particular attention. Having referred to the "backlog" of adults deprived of opportunities in the past, the Report goes on to say:-

> "The University will provide first and higher degree courses for such adult students, but its work would not cease if the problem of past deficiencies were adequately dealt with. Social inequalities will not suddenly vanish, nor will all individuals suddenly mature at the same age in the same environment. The recent book "All our Future" by J. W. B. Douglas et. al, provides timely evidence in this regard of the large number of boys and girls who have the ability to become scientists but who leave school every year at the age of fifteen".

The Committee would therefore seem to have accepted that differences in educational opportunities are rooted in social inequalities. The corollary for many observers would be that any extension of educational opportunities by the Open University should be seen in terms of reducing past social inequalities. We will return to this point later.

Having considered the University's possible clientele the Report then went on to outline the organisational framework and the teaching system to be adopted by the new institution. Firstly, the Open University would be just like all other British universities in that it would be an independent, autonomous institution which granted its own degrees. The proposed Charter of the University was modelled closely on that of the new University of Warwick, and only differed significantly from it in the statement of aims. The Open University's Charter stated:-

> "The objects of the University shall be the advancement and dissemination of learning and knowledge by teaching

> and research by a diversity of means such as broadcasting and technological devices appropriate to higher education, by correspondence tuition, residential courses and seminars and in other relevant ways, and shall be to provide education of university and professional standards for its students and to promote the educational well-being of the community generally"[25].

These aims recognised that the Open University would use different teaching methods and would provide "professional" as well as "university" courses. The Open University was also given the extra duty of benefitting the community at large.

An administrative structure was put forward by the Committee which showed four main sections working under the direction of the Vice-Chancellor (Figure 1). This was not intended to be a definitive version and the University's Council and Senate were to have the power "to determine the particular structure as the need arises, thus allowing a large measure of flexibility within which an effective administrative pattern can emerge". However, two features of the outline structure are of particular interest. The first concerned the need for a regional organisation responsible for mediating the centralised teaching system. It was proposed that there would be regional directors:-

> "... each of whom will be responsible, within his region, for the recruitment and supervision, in concert with the full-time academic staff, of a corps of part-time tutors, for the arrangement of residential vacation courses and seminars, for the development of a student counselling service, and for the establishment of local viewing centres."

A second proposal was that there should be an operational research unit within the University whose duty it would be to evaluate and to seek improvements in the teaching strategies of the new institution.

> "Indeed the continuation as an integral feature of the

> University of experimental work particularly in relation to the learning process may eventually prove to be one of the University's distinctive contributions to education generally."

Having reviewed developments in several other countries, the committee concluded that the Open University should adopt a teaching strategy which involved taking an integrated "systems approach" to the problem of providing higher education for part-time students. While the broadcasting media could undoubtedly be used as efficient means of instruction, they would need to be supplemented by the use of other media.

> "Direct teaching by broadcasting supported by printed literature may provide all that is required for a short course of professional refreshment. It is, however, neither practically possible nor pedagogically sound to rely on broadcasting as the principle or exclusive means of instruction in an operation designed to provide disciplined courses at university level. The serious student needs to make the facts and concepts that have been presented to him his own by using them. He must undertake regular written work some of which must be corrected so as to help him with his individual problems and errors and to permit assessment of his progress. The only method of individual instruction capable of being made available everywhere, and capable of indefinite expansion as new needs arise, is correspondence tuition, which can readily incorporate these newer techniques."

The Report also made a number of detailed proposals with regard to the University's degree structure, many of which echoed those found in the White Paper.

i) The degree would be a "general degree" in the sense that it would embrace studies over a wide range of subjects.

ii) Students would be allowed a great deal of choice from among the courses offered.

iii) No formal academic qualifications would be required for registration as a student.

iv) "Foundation Courses" would be offered in Mathematics, Understanding Science, Literature and Culture, and Understanding Society (a fifth course might be added later). These courses would be as intellectually demanding as any normal first-year university course but they would also have to be appropriate for students with limited educational experience.

v) The degree would be obtained by the accumulation of "credits" in individual courses, which would last for one academic year. Each foundation course would count as one credit and all students would normally be required to obtain two credits in foundation courses before proceeding to further study.

vi) The foundation courses were seen as representing "lines" of study. The programme of study after the foundation courses would be based on the breakdown of each line into a number of components. There would be about four components in each line and each component would be made the subject of two courses, the second being more advanced than the first. This gave a total of some thirty-six courses, or forty-five if a fifth line of study was added.

vii) Six credits would be required for an Ordinary Degree and eight credits for an Honours Degree.

viii) Credits could be acquired over any number of years of study. Exceptional students could complete a degree in three years but four years should be more normal and five years the median period in practice.

ix) A student's success would be determined by a combination of continuous assessment and final examination. In accordance with normal university practice, external examiners would be appointed for the final examinations of each course to ensure that proper academic standards were maintained.

x) A note was made of the pressing need for degree courses for practising certified teachers and proposals concerning this would be made later.

Proposals were also made concerning the structure of the courses themselves:-

i) Each course would have a substantial correspondence component. This text would form the nucleus around which an integrated sequence of radio and television programmes could be built. The programmes would be designed primarily for the benefit of students as part of the University's integrated teaching/learning system and therefore might be of limited value to members of the general public.

ii) Students would send in assignments by post at intervals still to be determined. It was noted that to the extent that broadcasts were linked to assignments, students would have to keep abreast of them or fall behind.

iii) The University's academic year would run from January to December.

In the post-graduate area the Committee felt that the critical need was for "post-experience" courses. These would take the form of "updating" or "refresher" courses or courses for those who are called upon to make a significant change in their activities, such as from the scientific into the management side of industry. Post-graduate courses leading to higher degree might be developed later. The extent to which the University could embark upon any of these

courses in the early years would depend upon the availability of broadcasting time at suitable hours of the day.

In the early stages Miss Lee had insisted that the proposed fourth television channel was indispensable to the establishment of the University of the Air. Residual times on other channels would not be sufficient. However, this met with great opposition, particularly from the Official Committee on Broadcasting which had been looking at the resource and financial implications of the new University while the Advisory Committee concerned itself with academic matters. The Official Committee estimated that the fourth channel would require a total capital cost of £42 million and an annual operational cost of about £18 million[26]. Realising that insistence on the fourth channel would mean the end of the project, Miss Lee compromised and asked Lord Goodman to negotiate with the BBC over the possible use of the BBC2 television channel instead.

As a result of these and subsequent negotiations, the Planning Committee was able to announce that it had contracted with the BBC to provide, in the initial years of operation, all the production and transmission services of the University. Thirty-two hours per week of television broadcasting and an equal total of radio broadcasting were requested and the BBC hoped to achieve this by 1974. The initial television broadcasts were to be on BBC2 between 5.30 and 7.30 p.m. on weekday evenings, and during the day at weekends. The Committee were anxious that recordings should be made available to those unable to receive the broadcasts.

To meet the University's long-term needs it was hoped that the University would possess, or command a substantial share of a VHF radio network. This would enable the University to broadcast many more programmes by radio than it would by television at the same cost, and at times of its own choosing. In the case of television, the Committee were pleased to note that the Government had stated that it would take account of the needs of the Open University in determining the use of the proposed fourth television network.

It was felt that the amount of broadcasting for any course and the balance of use between radio and television would be determined by the needs of that course. Similarly, the length of programmes might vary, but twenty and thirty-minute programmes were thought most likely. The four foundation courses would be transmitted every year and other courses would be offered as often as broadcasting time allowed. Each programme would be repeated at a different time of day. The programmes themselves would probably be re-made after three years of transmission. In addition to the curriculum output, about twenty programmes would be devoted annually "to advising students about their problems, the techniques of being a student, and the general intellectual climate of study".

The Committee noted that the University would need to establish close relationships with many other bodies if it was to succeed. Amongst others, they mentioned the Trades Union Congress, the Confederation of British Industry and the Library Association. However, the stress was on co-operation with existing agencies of further and adult education. In particular the University would rely upon such institutions for the use of their premises and for the provision of part-time staff and suitable preparatory courses. The Report also mentioned "the possibilities of relating courses already offered by them to those of the University, possibly for credit purposes, and of making the University's component degree courses available to such institutions".

In the final section of the Report, the Committee attempted to estimate the cost of the Open University. They had already submitted budget proposals for 1969-70 involving total expenditure of approximately £1.75 million. This included about £0.9 million capital expenditure for the purchase of premises, computing facilities and BBC equipment for the production and transmission of the University programmes. For the year 1970-71 they were working on an estimate of £3.75 million total expenditure. However, such estimates were very tentative as there were too many unknowns to make accurate forecasts.

Recurrent expenditure could be divided into two components,

"overheads" which would be largely, but not wholly independent of the number of students registered and "direct student costs" which would be wholly dependent upon the number of students registered. The overheads included two main items, firstly payments to the BBC for broadcasting services and secondly the cost of maintaining the headquarters of the University, including the salaries of the full-time staff. The figure for the BBC in a full year of operation, which would be reached in 1974-75, was put at about £1.8 million. The estimated cost of the University headquarters for a full year of operation (to be reached in 1971-72) and for up to 20,000 students, was £1.7 million. The Committee therefore assumed a total overhead component of about £3.5 million when the University was fully operational.

"Direct student costs" would be made up of a wide variety of costs including, for example, the salaries of the part-time tutorial staff, the hiring and equipping of viewing centres and the costs of printing, packing and posting the correspondence packages. As these costs would depend upon the number of students, the pattern of development in the regions and the quality of service provided, the Committee felt unable to make any estimate as to their size. Similarly, they could not estimate the income from student fees or from the sale of copyright materials. However, they did point out that the cost per student would almost certainly fall below that in the established universities and that the more students the Open University had on its courses, the more cost-effective it would become.

While the Committee did not specify a minimum or a maximum size for the University in terms of student numbers, they did make firm proposals concerning full-time academic staff. They felt that there should be four full-time academics for each component subject which, when a fifth foundation course was added, would make a total of eighty. The academics would have normal conditions of service and would be able to devote a significant proportion of their time to private study and research. However, most of them would be recruited on a part-time consultancy or short-term secondment pattern.

> "In this way special skills can be gathered by the University for its needs without making permanent appointments which could create an inflexible structure. This pattern of temporary employment will be particularly necessary in the early years of development".

1.6 Informal goals

As we have noted, the Labour Party's manifesto for the general election of March 1966, announced that the Open University would mean "genuine equality of opportunity to millions of people for the first time"[27]. The fact that no entry qualifications would be required and that study could be combined with full-time employment, meant that the opportunity to participate was available to everyone. However, for many people "genuine" equality of opportunity would only be demonstrated by a greatly increased participation rate among groups traditionally under-represented in higher education. In particular, the Open University would be judged by its ability to attract and to benefit members of the working class. These views were most clearly expressed by "egalitarian" educationalists but appeared to be shared by many members of the general public.

Back in 1962 in their classic work "Education and the working class" Jackson and Marsden said that "the concept of the "open" university entails a large new working class intake"[28]. In 1969 Jackson, then Director of the National Extension College, expressed his concern about the direction the new University appeared to be taking:-

> "I fear that we are in considerable danger of creating yet another university institution for the middle-class, and especially for that middle-class housewife seeking a liberal arts course. The Open University has many splendid uses ... but if it is centrally to reconnect adult education with a major working-class audience then it must go and get them ..."[29].

Later on, when the nature of the Open University's student population became public knowledge, articles were published by

outside observers which suggested that the University had failed in its attempt to attract the educationally disadvantaged.[30]

People such as Jennie Lee were clearly aware of these informal goals which were being attributed to the Open University. At a public meeting in 1971 she responded somewhat angrily by stating that:-

> "It is not a working class university. It was never intended to be a working class university. It was planned as a university. It is an Open University".[31]

However, in a much later interview she made it clear that she was in favour of working-class students. She said that she did want the University to attract "people in mining villages who had left school at fourteen or fifteen" but that "the problem was, how could you devise a scheme that would get through to them without excluding other people? The last thing we wanted was a proletarian ghetto!"[32]

Perry, the University's Vice-Chancellor, seems to have always acknowledged these informal goals. Speaking in 1974 about the level of national awareness he said:-

> "... the proportion of the adult population in this country which has never heard of the Open University is still about 60%, and this 60% consists almost wholly of that segment of the population for whom the institution was initially designed, namely the lower socio-economic groups which include most of the educationally deprived members of the community."[33]

1.7 The reaction of others to the proposed reform

The press reaction to Wilson's original proposals in 1963 was almost unanimously hostile. The Spectator felt it unlikely that the scheme would ever be implemented:-

> "Panaceas are ... understandable, even permissible at party conferences but that should not lead us to take

> them for more than they are or to mistake the war-cry before the charge for the operational orders which will actually be implemented."[34]

An editorial in the Times talked of "socialist idealism" and maintained that Wilson defeated his object by "the sheer magnitude of his dream".[35] It was doubted whether the money, the manpower or the television facilities could be found for such a venture. The Economist was the only periodical to welcome Wilson's suggestion.

During the policy formulation stage there was little support for the scheme within the Department of Education and Science. Most of the senior civil servants involved in higher education argued that resources could be better spent in other ways. There was also a more specific reason for antagonism in some quarters in that one of Miss Lee's first acts was to scrap proposals for a "College of the Air" which the Department had been working on with the BBC. At that time the project, which would have offered pre-university level courses to adult students using broadcasting and correspondence teaching, was only awaiting final Cabinet approval.

Support for the Open University was by no means unanimous within the Labour Party itself. In January 1966, for instance, there was talk of a Cabinet split on the issue.[36] Crossland, the Education Minister, is believed to have felt that any spare money should go towards plans for raising the school leaving age and Wedgewood-Benn, the Postmaster General, felt that nothing could be settled until the allocation of the fourth television channel had been decided. According to Wilson, the Treasury and successive Chancellors were all against the scheme.[37]

The Conservative Party made no formal policy statements concerning the new university during the early stages but debates in the Commons indicated their general stance. The University was referred to as a "completely bogus institution" and an "unlovely centralised colossus" and was attacked because of its cost, its organisation, the lack of research and its political origins. The

merits of locally organised closed-circuit systems for educational television were put forward.[38] The only official Conservative statement came from Sir Edward Boyle, chief Opposition spokesman on Education, in his response to the Government's announcement in the House that it had accepted the Planning Committee's report and was going ahead with the project. His statement read:-

> "The report sets out a project embracing interesting experiments in the use of broadcasting for educational purposes and in the development of part-time degree courses, with both of which objectives we on these benches are very much in sympathy. But is it not a fact that this proposal comes at a time when resources for essential educational tasks are more severely stretched than any year since the war? Does the Right Honourable Gentleman really think that it makes sense for him to commit himself to funds of about an annual rate of £3.7 million as mentioned in the report, particularly as this report may well suggest techniques and innovations that could be adopted more efficiently and less expensively by existing institutions providing part-time degree courses and other forms of adult education?"[39]

As Perry comments, this was really a very mild attack, given that Boyle was under pressure from his constituency parties and from the back benches in the House to take a strong line against the O.U. His main concern was with the cost and he carefully avoided saying whether the Conservatives would support the project if they returned to power. Perry suggests that an interview which he and Venables had previously with Boyle, in which they told him of their plans for the O.U., may have influenced his statement.[40]

Other adult educators were also highly critical of the scheme. Disappointment was expressed at not being consulted more fully by the Planning Committee and they felt that the money could be better spent on improving existing provision. They were particularly concerned by the lack of consideration given to

educationally disadvantaged groups.[41] In the broadcasting area, while an early agreement had been reached with the BBC, many of its staff were sceptical about the future of the project and there was widespread resistance to the idea of giving up peak transmission times for Open University programmes.[42]

Criticism of the new university, then, came from many directions and took many forms. The proposal was "party-political" and under-researched. The costs would be enormous, there would be little demand for places and the drop-out rate would be high. It would not help educationally disadvantaged groups. The project was so impracticable and broadcasting so limited an educational medium that the university could not produce a sizeable increase in the number of scientists and technologists. Given the level and variety of criticism, how did the Open University survive the policy formulation stage?

1.8 Factors underlying the survival of the proposed reform

Certain individuals played key roles in ensuring the creation of the Open University. Harold Wilson as Prime Minister was determined that the project would succeed and used his powers to overcome the opposition from Ministries, the Treasury, civil servants and well-established interest groups. According to Wilson such acts were not uncommon in British politics:-

> "... our political history is full of cases where the Prime Minister has a private hobby-horse and is determined to use the not inconsiderable resources of his office to get through, whatever the opposition."[43]

By selecting Jennie Lee to steer the project into being, Wilson knew that he had chosen:-

> "... a politican of steely imperious will, coupled both with tenacity and charm, who was no respecter of protocol and who would refuse to be defeated or frustrated by the scepticism about the University."[44]

For Miss Lee the Open University became a personal crusade. As Wilson put it:-

> "What her husband's (Aneurin Bevan) National Health Service had been in the 1940's, the Open University would be in the 1960's."[45]

Between 1966 and 1968 Miss Lee worked very hard to convince opponents of the Open University about its worth and practicability. She had a side table in the Stranger's Dining Room in the House of Commons, and during these three years there was no-one of any importance at all to the University's development whom she did not entertain.

Another key figure was Lord Goodman who successfully negotiated with the BBC for transmission times and talked to possible sponsors. However, his major contribution was his work on the possible costs of an Open University. His estimates were accepted but in fact they proved to be much lower than the real costs. Speaking in 1974, he said:-

> "When I see the figure I mentioned and the figure it is now costing, I ought to blush with shame. (The Open University) might not have been established except for my foolish miscalculation."[46]

In fact part of the under-estimate owed nothing to Goodman's miscalculations. While the Planning Committee were only talking of <u>overhead</u> costs when they mentioned the figure of £3.5 million per year, this was taken by Boyle and by the press to represent the <u>total</u> cost per year. As Perry points out, "Had this been known at the time, the reception of the Report of the Planning Committee would almost certainly have been even less favourable than it turned out to be."[47]

As we have seen, there was little support for the Open University in the early stages. This opposition was managed by the use of a tactic of "containment". By chairing the Advisory Committee

herself, and by giving them very restricted terms of reference, the original idea was safeguarded by Miss Lee. The project was deliberately insulated from debates about the education service as a whole and hence did not have to compete with other policies being considered at the time, such as the expansion of polytechnics.

This policy of isolation excluded certain groups from the debate whose co-operation would subsequently be needed for the implementation of the project. The Planning Committee served to reduce some but not all of the opposition by meeting many of those interested in, or involved in, implementing the university. According to Hall the key feature of this committee was its membership:-

> "By persuading an eminent group of individuals to join it, Miss Lee demonstrated that the project had some powerful support outside the DES and that it was unlikely that the university would be scrapped altogether. Under such circumstances the tactics of the opposition tended to be modified. Previous critics either became supporters or they attempted to influence the <u>details</u> of the scheme rather than to destroy it completely."[48]

Opposition to the Open University was therefore deflected or neutralised in a number of ways. However, possibly the major factor behind the University's survival during these early stages was the lack of <u>real</u> opposition. Virtually all of those who might have successfully stopped it seem to have decided that they did not feel sufficiently strong.

i) Neither hostile Ministers nor the Treasury appear to have pressed the Prime Minister to a show-down.

ii) The Conservative party did not guarantee the University's continued existence if they came to power, but they could easily have rejected the idea instead of remaining neutral.

iii) Despite their scepticism, no serious opposition came from the DES.

iv) The local authorities were neutral once it was made clear that the system of grant awards to Open University students would be descretionary rather than mandatory.

v) Similarly the University Grants Committee was persuaded that the Open University would not impose an additional burden on their finances.

vi) Many in the higher education sector were sceptical about the Open University's teaching methods and standards, but again there was neither a sufficiently concerted opposition, nor an attempt to create one. The O.U. was not opposed as a competitor due to the difference in the age of entry and the lack of access to UGC funds.

vii) By the time of the Planning Committee's Report the educational press had warmed to the idea of an Open University.

viii) The adult education sector was not won over but they lacked the cohesion and power to form a successful pressure group.

1.9 Goal changes during the policy formulation stage

During the policy formulation stage the proposed nature and scope of the Open University had undergone certain changes. Some of these changes were made to ensure the survival of the project. For instance, Miss Lee's demand that the Open University should be allocated the fourth television channel was dropped when she realised that the opposition was too strong and that insistence would mean the end of the project. Other goals fell by the wayside for no apparent reason. The benefits for students in other countries, which the Advisory Committee had noted as one of the three main purposes of the University, were not referred to by the

Planning Committee.

However, the major change during this period concerned the abandonment of Wilson's ideas for an Educational Trust in favour of an independent institution. The Open University was to have the highest academic status; providing degrees, being staffed by university teachers and being termed a university. This move reflected Miss Lee's own philosophy in that she thought only the best would do:-

> "We would be entirely out of tune with the times if we thought men and women working either full-time or part-time for their living would thank you for being palmed off with a kind of paddy-the-next-best-thing."[49]

Her decision that it should be a true university aroused even more reservations in the academic community, and especially in the world of adult education. However, Perry believes that it was this decision that allowed the proposal to go forward. While there was a greater social need for pre-university courses "the trouble was that an open secondary school, founded at that particular time, would not have had enough glamour to survive the financial stresses which almost put paid to the idea of the Open University itself."[50]

With this decision came other attendant changes. Undergraduate courses leading to degrees became the main focus and the range of subjects to be offered was much reduced. Furthermore the accent on teaching by broadcasting was lessened. Rather than a "broadcasting university" the Open University was to be a correspondence university with a significant broadcasting component. These changes can all be seen as moves towards making the Open University a practicable and academically respectable proposition.

Whereas Wilson envisaged a very wide target population, later decisions to reduce the range of courses meant that the needs of all adults could not be catered for. However, the fact that the Advisory Committee introduced the idea of open admissions meant

that they hoped to attract people with and without previous qualifications. In the early stages great stress was also placed on the benefits that would accrue to people who did not actually register as students but this aim was somewhat diminished as time went by. The Planning Committee noted that the interests of registered students would be paramount and that broadcasts alone might not form a coherent course as they would form part of an integrated teaching/learning system.

1.10 The nature of the formal goals

In the following section of this paper we attempt to assess the current position of the Open University in relation to its original goals. However, before doing this it is worth examining the nature of these goals to determine to what extent such an evaluation is possible. For the present purposes we distinguish between five types of goals:-

i) The intended students

ii) The curriculum

iii) The teaching methods

iv) The organisational framework

v) Academic standards

vi) The size and cost of the new institution

As we have seen, the Planning Committee were very specific when considering the second, third and fourth of these goals. However, they were at pains to point out that they were only providing a sketchplan and that it would be up to members of the University to work out the detailed blue-print. This flexibility which was granted to the University makes it very difficult to determine whether apparent differences between goals and outcomes constitute major deviations from the original plans. The Committee were quite clear about educational standards, the fifth goal. An O.U. degree was to be equal to that of other universities.

The Planning Committee made no detailed recommendations concerning

the first goal, namely who the students should be. The University was to be open to everyone who wanted to enter. However, there were many unofficial views as to who should be the beneficiaries and the Open University can be evaluated on these grounds.

Little was said on the two inter-related questions of size and cost. Estimates were made concerning the number of academic staff needed and the likely overhead costs involved in running the University headquarters and providing the broadcasting services and claims were made that the University would be cost-effective. However, no firm estimates were made concerning the size of the student population and of the direct student costs.

PART II THE PRESENT STATE OF THE REFORM

2.1 Attainment of formal and informal goals

In Table 1 we show the most recent figures which are available concerning the size and costs of the Open University. While the Planning Committee only made tentative estimates on these matters, it seems safe to conclude that the University has grown much larger than they expected. There are now almost five times the number of full-time academic staff that they envisaged and nearly three times the number of undergraduate courses. There are also over 70,000 students whereas the Committee were cautiously talking of "up to 20,000 students."[51]

The costs of the Open University have also exceeded the original estimates. The Planning Committee estimated that the overhead costs would be about £3.5 million per annum whereas in 1978 (the last published accounts) they amounted to some £23.5 million.[52] Even when one allows for inflation this is still more than double the original estimate. Factors which account for this discrepancy include the increased numbers of students and courses and the cost of producing an individual course given the standards the Open University has chosen to adopt. However, while the overhead costs were greater than anticipated it is generally agreed that the Open University is more cost-effective than conventional universities. Wagner has calculated that the average costs per equivalent undergraduate at the Open University are one quarter of those found at other universities and that the average cost per graduate is likely to be below one half.[53]

The numberof full-time academic staff has greatly exceeded the original estimate and once again this appears to arise both from the increase in the number of courses provided and from the unexpectedly high level of manpower required to produce a given course. Some academic staff have been recruited on a part-time consultancy or short term secondment basis, particularly for the more specialised higher level courses, but unlike the original proposals the great majority hold tenured positions.

The Committee's claim that there was a market for an Open University had clearly been vindicated. Table 2 shows the number of enquiries and applications received for the undergraduate programme over the years. Many thousands of people were interested in the opportunities which the University offered and the level of demand has shown no sign of diminishing. The level of funding has meant that an average of some nineteen thousand undergraduates could be admitted each year.

To determine whether the opportunities offered by the Open University were "real" ones we must consider the progress made by admitted students. Applicants who accept the offer of a place on the undergraduate programme pay an initial registration fee. After three months study during the "provisional registration" period the new students decide whether to pay the final registration fee which will entitle them to receive teaching materials for the rest of the first year. Every year three out of four new students complete final registration and over eight out of ten of the finally registered students go on to obtain a course credit at the end of their first year. Therefore six out of ten of all admitted students gain some course credit. Many students settle for one or two credits, and increasing numbers use these credits to gain admission to, or advanced standing on, full-time courses in other institutions. Approximately one-half of all finally registered students go on to graduate from the Open University.[54] These "success rates", while lower than those found in conventional universities would suggest that the Open University is providing real opportunities for many thousands of people.

What of the student population itself? The Planning Committee felt that the Open University could provide greater opportunities for women and in Table 3 we show the sex breakdown for new undergraduates over the years. Women have traditionally been underrepresented on degree courses and this imbalance was particularly marked in the case of the Open University's first intake. However, over the years women have formed an increasing proportion of new students and they are now better represented at the Open University than at conventional universities.

In Table 4 we present an occupational analysis of new undergraduates. The great majority of working students in the Open University's first intake were in high-grade white-collar occupations. The high proportion of teachers confirmed the Planning Committee's view that this group would find the Open University particularly attractive. The proportion of teachers fell in the second year and again in the fifth year and there were corresponding increases among those in lower level white-collar occupations and among manual workers.

Since then the figures have remained remarkably static. Manual workers continue to form only one in ten of new Open University students whereas they represent almost one half of the total working population. When we look at male students on their own we see that while professional and technical workers are heavily over-represented and manual workers heavily under-represented, the proportion in lower level white-collar jobs almost matches the national population. Among women, however, both manual workers and those in lower level white-collar jobs are heavily under-represented. Furthermore, the slight improvement in the proportion of manual workers has come almost entirely from males.

Turning to previous educational qualifications, in recent years four out of every ten students did not possess the minimum qualifications required for entry to a conventional degree course and one in ten had no formal qualifications at all (Table 5). As a group Open University students are better qualified than the national population but much less so than other higher education students. The second Open University intake was less well qualified than the first one but since then there has been no discernable trend towards lower qualifications.

These figures concerning the occupational and educational background of Open University students have led many observers to conclude that the University has failed to achieve what we have termed its informal goal, namely the reduction of social inequality in higher education. Evidence that those students from "disadvantaged" groups who were attracted to the Open University

have found it more difficult to succeed with their courses lends further support to this argument. In Table 6 we compare the first-year progress of those with high and low previous qualifications for each of the foundation courses. A discrimination index is used which is simply the difference in the percentage pass-rates between the two groups (e.g. if 60% of the high group gained a credit and 40% of the low group this would be entered in the table as +20). Perhaps not surprisingly those with low qualifications fared worse than those with high qualifications on each course and in each year. What is disturbing is the fact that the figures for later years are much higher than for earlier years. Except in the case of Maths the figures have risen because the well qualified students have continued to perform at the same high level whereas the performance of those with low qualifications has declined. (With Maths the pass-rate for both groups has increased but it has done so more slowly among those with low qualifications). A similar analysis was performed using occupations. Comparisons were made between the performance of professional and technical workers and that of manual workers. The same overall pattern emerged but in general the discrimination indices were somewhat lower than those found with qualifications.

We turn now to graduation rates. By the end of 1974 54% of those who had finally registered as new students in 1971 had obtained an Ordinary degree from the O.U. The figure for those possessing the entry requirements for a conventional degree course was 62% but among the "unqualified" group it was only 40%. As the "unqualified" students were unlikely to have any credit exemptions it was expected that they would graduate at a slower rate but it now seems unlikely that they will ever catch up with the "qualified" group. In Figure 2 we show the cumulative graduation rates for students from the 1971 intake in four occupational categories. The teachers fared best and around seven out of ten are likely to graduate. Housewives graduated at a slower rate in the early years but it seems likely that they will eventually catch up with the teachers. Among the clerical and office workers, slightly over four out of ten are likely to graduate. The picture is least encouraging for manual workers. Although small numbers of them continue to graduate, it is

unlikely that more than three out of ten will eventually gain a degree. Furthermore, the evidence presented above on first year progress would suggest that these discrepancies will be even greater among the later intakes.

Although the Open University has attracted relatively few "disadvantaged" students, research has shown that many of its students could be described as "initially disadvantaged." For instance, a study of new undergraduates in 1975 showed that only one in three got as far as taking A levels at school and one in five left without taking any examinations at all.[55] Similarly the fathers of one half of all students were manual workers and a further quarter were in low level white-collar occupations. As Table 7 shows, these figures are markedly better than those achieved by conventional universities and much closer to the national distribution of occupations. In general then, the students whom the Open University attracted did not have the opportunity to enter a degree course on leaving school. However, they were also likely to have experienced a great deal of upward educational and occupational mobility between leaving school and entering the Open University.

The organisational framework and the teaching system proposed by the Planning Committee has largely been adhered to. Most of the major changes have been as a direct result of the rapid growth in the size and scope of the University. Other minor changes can be seen as elaborations upon the Committee's "sketch-plan" rather than significant departures from it.

As planned the Open University was set up as a fully independent university receiving its Charter in July 1969. Evidence of its acceptance as a university can be drawn from a variety of sources. For instance, in 1973 the Vice-Chancellor was invited to join the British Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals from which he had previously been excluded on the grounds that the Open University was not funded by the University Grants Committee but directly by the DES. There are now agreements with the Council for National Academic Awards and with certain universities concerning credit

transfer whereby Open University students can use their credits to gain admission to, or advanced standing on their full-time courses. Many Open University graduates have used their degrees to gain post-graduate places elsewhere. Finally, many institutions of higher education now use Open University teaching material in their own programmes. Although it cannot be proved conclusively, it would seem, therefore, that the Open University has achieved the academic standards which the Planning Committee hoped for. Further indirect evidence is presented in Section 2.3 when we consider other opinions concerning the reform.

The administrative structure adopted by the Open University was very similar to that proposed by the Planning Committee. The main difference is that there is no overall Director of Research and Educational Technology responsible for correspondence services, media resources, research and evaluation, media production and marketing, and BBC liaison. Instead there are several departments with a high degree of autonomy. What has been created is an Institute of Educational Technology with a Director in charge of some sixty full-time academic and research staff. The Institute is composed of two wings, namely Course Development and Institutional Research. Members of the former work directly with course teams whereas members of the latter carry out research and evaluation aimed at improving the Open University's teaching system. Such a unit was clearly envisaged by the Committee but whether its output will "prove to be one of the University's distinctive contributions to education generally"[56] is yet to be seen. The Regional Offices have come into being as planned but on a much larger scale with each of the thirteen offices having about fifty full-time staff.

In general terms the Open University has adopted the multi-media teaching approach which was advocated by the Planning Committee and indeed the broadcasting component forms a minor part of a student's study week. As the Committee envisaged, study centre tutorials and short-term residential courses form key parts of many courses and other "media" such as home experiment kits, computer terminals, floppy discs and telephone tutorials have also been used to advantage on some courses. However, the correspondence text is

almost invariably the major component of any course. These are specially written booklets of a high quality and almost certainly go beyond what the Committee had in mind when they talked of providing students with a "study guide". Young academic staff, with reputations to make, have not found it possible or desirable to "lower the standard" of what is in essence a published work.

The University's degree structure with its lack of entry qualifications, provision of foundation courses, credit structure etc. is almost identical to that laid down by the Planning Committee. In what follows we merely note the departures from their outline:-

i) The number of courses provided far exceed the original estimates.

ii) Many courses are inter-disciplinary in nature rather than forming components of different "lines of study".

iii) There are even fewer restrictions on course choice. In some subjects students are recommended to take courses in a certain order but this is not compulsory.

iv) Students can proceed to higher level courses after taking one rather than two foundation courses.

v) Many half credit courses are now offered.

vi) Many courses use computer marked assignments in addition to written work.

In the non-undergraduate programme there have been developments in several directions, not all of which were foreseen by the Planning Committee. As envisaged, there are a number of specially prepared "post experience" courses which have been designed primarily for adults who have had practical experience in a given field and wish to develop or broaden their skills and understanding to a higher level. Subject areas include in-service training of teachers and health and social welfare, and four courses can be taken which lead cumulatively to a Diploma in Reading Development.

However, the majority of courses available to these "Associate Students" are drawn from the undergraduate programme. Some of these have been included because they had some career enhancement or retraining potential but not all. The intention is that ultimately all undergraduate courses other than the foundation courses should be available to Associate Students. Course credits gained by Associate Students can be transferred towards an Open University degree but only after entering the undergraduate programme and taking at least one foundation course.

A further innovation is the introduction of "Community Education" courses. These courses are at sub-university level, they last only eight to ten weeks, they have no tutor-marked assignments or examinations, and they do not involve the range of support services offered to students on other Open University courses. The courses are of two types. The first type are courses which are related to the concerns of adults in their everyday lives and cover parent, health,employment and consumer education. The second type of course is based on materials selected from existing Open University courses. The courses cover historical, cultural, political and environmental interests and encourage students to apply what they have learnt in their own communities.

At the post-graduate level the University still has no firm plans for higher degrees by course work but there are some 600 part-time and full-time students taking degrees by thesis.

The contract between the Planning Committee and the BBC has been renewed so that the BBC continues to produce and transmit the University's programmes. In 1979 some 33 hours of television and 25 hours of radio programmes were transmitted each week. The figure for radio is below that asked for by the Committee but this would seem to be through lack of demand from the Open University, with many new courses using audio cassettes in place of radio. Broadcasts continue to occupy "prime time" slots but the increase in the number of courses has meant that fewer repeats are possible and more broadcasts have to go out very early in the morning or very late at night. Only in a few instances has the Open University been able to equip

study centres with play back facilities for students who miss the programmes. There now seems to be no pressure for the University's own radio channel and the allocation of the fourth channel to commercial television makes it very unlikely that the Open University will receive any extra television time. The programmes themselves tend not to be remade every three years as the Committee planned but rather last as long as the actual course which can be anything up to eight years. However, the general interest programmes recommended by the Committee have been provided, going out under the title of "Open Forum". In the longer term it is to be doubted if the relationship with the BBC will continue. New technologies are rapidly opening the way to more flexible and potentially less expensive uses of audio visual media and it is in this direction that the University is likely to develop.

The relationships with other educational institutions appear to be good in that they provide premises for the 260 local study centres and the residential summer schools, many part-time Open University staff and also a great variety of preparatory courses. Other relationships are more difficult to determine but the Open University now co-operates with many other bodies over what courses to provide, course production and the question of degree recognition. The Open University has also held separate conferences with the Confederation of British Industry and with the Trades Union Conference to discuss areas of mutual concern.

2.2 Unforeseen outcomes

Some of the outcomes at the Open University were not foreseen, or only hinted at indirectly, by the Planning Committee. A number have been mentioned in the previous section, e.g. the Community Education courses, and several more are outlined below:-

i) Academic staff in other institutions have made widespread use of individual course components on an informal basis and some have used whole Open University courses in their curriculum.

ii) Schemes with other colleges have enabled some students to study with the Open University in addition to their full-time course or to alternate between distance and full-time modes of study.

iii) In the absence of regular tutorial support on certain courses, students have been encouraged to form "self-help" groups for mutual assistance with study problems.

iv) Assistance for other countries, which was mentioned by Advisory Committee but not by the Planning Committee, has in fact been provided. Similar models have now been adopted in countries such as Israel, Pakistan and Venezuela following extensive collaboration with the Open University.

v) Special schemes have enabled merchant seamen, prisoners and members of the armed forces serving in Germany and Cyprus to study with the Open University. Provision is also shortly to be made for British nationals working overseas in major centres (e.g. Brussels, Hong Kong) to study certain Open University courses.

2.3 Opinions concerning the outcomes of the reform

As with any other reform, the Open University continues to have both supporters and detractors. In what follows we attempt the difficult task of summarising the general views and opinions of certain groups.

i) Political parties

The Open University is supported by both major political parties and is no longer seen as being the sole property of the Labour Party. However, the University is not

immune to economic pressures. In times of recession and cut-backs the Open University's budget suffers along with the rest of the education sector.

ii) Employers

A recent survey of employers has shown a continuing degree of ignorance about the Open University and precisely what it does, but most approved of their employees studying in this way.[57] Support was often given in the form of financial help or time-off to study but this feqeuently depended upon whether the course was related to the employee's work or the firm's business. About one-half of employers regarded the Open University degree as equivalent to, or better than, one from other universities and a general respect was shown towards Open University graduates for their dedication and determination to succeed despite the rigours of distance study.

iii) Local Education Authorities

Grants for Open University study are made at the discretion of Local Education Authorities. While no LEA appears to be against the principle of the Open University, there are great differences in the extent to which they are prepared to support Open University students. In general LEA's tend to help with summer school fees but not tuition fees. During the current economic recession the LEA's are likely to withdraw more and more of these discretionary grants thereby creating financial problems for many Open University students.

iv) Trade Unions

Some trade unions help their members with Open University student fees. However, there still seems to be little active interest shown by the unions in the Open University. They would seem to prefer their members to take their own courses designed to help them with their union activities.

v) Professional institutions

In many instances Open University credits and degrees have been used by students to gain exemption from part or all of the requirements for certain professional qualifications. Such recognition generally involves individual decisions based on a consideration of a student's Open University course profile. A notable exception to this is the agreement with the British Psychological Society whereby the Open University courses required for membership are clearly laid down. Probably the least head-way has been made in the case of engineering institutions, who regard the degrees as being too "general" in nature.

vi) Open University students

A survey of Open University graduates has shown a high level of satisfaction derived from their courses.[58] The great majority felt a sense of achievement; they had gained a different perspective on life; they had developed new interests; they had become more self-confident. For many their Open University qualifications had opened up possibilities for advancement both in career and educational terms.

One would expect that students who withdrew from the Open University at some earlier stage would be more critical of the Open University and what it provides. Nevertheless other surveys have shown that drop-outs were grateful for the opportunity to study and generally blamed their lack of success on themselves or on circumstances which were outside the Open University's control.[59]

vii) The "educational egalitarians"

The criticisms concerning the social class background of Open University students appear to have abated. Those interested in education for the working class have diverted their attentions to different types of institutions

offering lower level courses and using different teaching methods. Critics such as Jackson now appear to accept the Open University for what it is rather than what it might have been and argue that it provides a useful base from which one can go on to build an Open College and an Open School.[60]

2.4 Original goals versus actual outcomes

We have shown how the Open University as it stands at present is very similar to that put forward by Planning Committee in terms of teaching methods, curriculum and organisational framework. In other ways it is bigger, and hence more costly, than was originally envisaged. The Open University has only met with limited success in terms of its "informal" goal, namely the creation of "genuine equality of opportunity". In the following section we examine the policy implementation process in order to determine why the Open University achieved some of its original goals but not others.

PART III THE PROCESS OF IMPLEMENTATION

3.1 A brief factual account

The Open University's Vice-Chancellor was appointed in June 1968 and the University Secretary a few months later. (These represent the top two administrative posts in the Open University's organisational structure). The first six senior academic staff appointments were made in the latter months of 1968. Following the granting of the Charter in July 1969, a further thirty four academic staff took up their posts and began work on creating the four foundation courses. In October 1969 the University moved from temporary offices in London to a permanent site in Milton Keynes. At that time the total staff, including administrators, clerks, secretaries etc. stood at about 170.

The Open University's first Prospectus appeared in Autumn 1969 and the initial application period ran from December 1969 to June 1970. The first students were offered places in September 1970 and 24,200 began their studies in January 1971. In the first year foundation courses were offered in Arts, Social Science, Maths and Science and a fifth foundation course in Technology was added in 1972. In subsequent years higher level courses have been provided in each of these five subject areas, together with courses in Educational Studies. By the end of 1972 a small number of students had already obtained Open University degrees.

The Open University grew rapidly in the early years with dramatic increases in the number of staff, students and courses offered. Today, some ten years later, the University is approaching its envisaged "steady-state" at least as far as the undergraduate provision is concerned. Further growth is planned in the non-undergraduate area. The first "post experience" courses were offered in 1973 and after a slow start students on such courses are now beginning to form a significant proportion of the total population.

3.2 The early stages of implementation

As Perry points out in his book, the time-scale for actually setting up the Open University was a very short one. From the time of his own appointment there were only two and a half years to go before the first students were due to begin their courses. It was imperative that this time-scale was adhered to as it was feared that a change of government would lead to the end of the project.

The Open University needed a permanent site close to the London television studios. Fortunately the new city of Milton Keynes was keen to have a University and was therefore prepared to offer a site at a very low rental and with few building restrictions. The buildings themselves were erected remarkably quickly with staff moving in only eight months after the appointment of development architects. Continued support in high places ensured that the whole process was possible. It is understood that Harold Wilson himself intervened to gain permission for the University to be sited in the South East rather than in a development area in the North and it was Jennie Lee who managed to get the Department of Education and Science to speed up approval for the actual building.[61]

The survival of the whole project depended upon the solution of practical problems such as the buildings, and their solution can largely be attributed to the dynamic personality of Perry, along with powerful government support. However, there were also other factors at work which ensured that the Open University was set up in a way which was consistent with the stated aims of the Planning Committee. Perhaps the most important factor was the continuity of personnel.

As we have noted, Perry was appointed during the life of the Planning Committee and hence was able to influence the nature of their Report while not assuming responsibility for its content. This ensured that he was in agreement with the basic aims but also allowed him some flexibility. In his own words:-

> "This lack of personal commitment to the detailed recommendations of the Report left me with a freer hand

once the University was created."[62]

The first academic staff were carefully chosen with Perry and members of the Planning Committee sitting on all of the selection panels. As there were some 1,200 applications for the 34 jobs available in September 1969, presumably they were able to select candidates who were not only well qualified but who also identified with the aims of the Planning Committee. Another important decision made at this time was to appoint Sir Peter Venables as the Open University's first Pro-Chancellor. Thus the former Chairman of the Planning Committee became the Chairman of the Council of the University, the Open University's ultimate decision-making body.

The time-scale of the operation meant that it was unlikely that the nature of the Open University would differ significantly from that laid down in the Planning Committee's Report. The first Prospectus had to be published in October 1969 yet there could not be an effective Senate until September. By that stage most of the major decisions had been made by Perry and the small nucleus of academic staff who had joined the University in the Spring. Again in Perry's words:-

> "... the members of Senate, wholly inexperienced as they were, had little real choice in the matter. They could do no more, in the time available, than endorse the proposals put to them. I wrote the first Prospectus virually single-handed."[63]

In 1969 Lord Crowther was appointed as Chancellor of the University and Sir Paul Chambers as Treasurer. This "caused a certain stir in government circles"[64] as Crowther was not a committed Labour Party supporter and Chambers' political views were known to be conservative. However, Venables had insisted that all appointments must be made by academics and on academic grounds; there must be no hint of a political appointment. These appointments, along with that of Perry himself, can be seen as moves towards establishing the Open University's academic standing and removing it from the political arena.

During the early stages it was important to enlist the support of the rest of adult and higher education for the new institution and Perry devoted much time and effort to this. By talking to numerous people in the world of adult education he tried to ensure that the Open University was not seen as a take-over bid designed to reduce the effectiveness of bodies such as the Workers' Educational Association or university extra-mural departments, nor as a central government device to force local education authorities to channel their limited funds in different directions. He also tried to convince other academics that an Open University degree would be of a comparable standard and would not be gained just by watching T.V. To this end he spoke about the Open University and what it intended to do, in 22 British universities between his appointment and the end of 1970. Also, by using over fifty eminent university academics as external assessors on the initial staff selection panels, it was possible to spread information about the Open University throughout the academic world.

3.3 Two early crises and their management

In the Summer of 1970, just as the Open University was about to offer places to the first 25,000 undergraduates, a General Election took place and the Conservative Party returned to power with a substantial majority. The Conservatives were committed to cutting public spending and it seemed possible that even at this late stage the Open University might be abolished. Indeed, Ian MacLeod, the new Chancellor of the Exchequer, had referred to the Open University earlier as "blithering nonsense".[65] In the event MacLeod died suddenly and Mrs. Thatcher, the new Minister of Education, approved a somewhat reduced budget for the Open University which enabled it to go ahead with its plans.

The reasons why Mrs. Thatcher lent her support to the Open University are open to conjecture. Perry stresses the importance of a meeting with her prior to the election during which she was informed of the Open University's exact nature. Other commentators have suggested that she was sympathetic to the idea having gained one of her own degrees by part-time study and that she was influenced

by senior civil servants who, having worked very hard on the plans, were anxious not to see the experiment founder. However, the basic reason was possibly a more pragmatic one in that Mrs. Thatcher saw the Open University as a cost-effective means of coping with the increasing level of demand for higher education from qualified school-leavers. In making the initial grant to the Open University she asked the University to consider:-

> "... the contribution that it can make to the development of higher education provision in the future".[66]

The Open University responded by stating that it felt its teaching system was unsuitable for school-leavers but that certain elements could be used in conventional institutions by means of mixed-mode study schemes. Nevertheless the government insisted that the University should begin to admit qualified school-leavers. Following protracted negotiations, the Open University finally admitted three experimental intakes of younger students, in 1974, 1975 and 1976. In the event only one in three of the 1,300 admitted were "qualified" for admission to a conventional degree course and only a handful were "qualified" school-leavers. (In fact their qualifications were very similar to those held by other Open University students when they were that age). Furthermore, the evaluation of this pilot scheme took several years to complete and it is only now in 1980 that the full results have become available.[67] Thus, without being obviously obstructive, the Open University would seem to have weathered the threat of a complete change in its student clientele by the astute use of negotiation and other delaying tactics. The fact that the younger students fared relatively badly with their studies has also provided the Open University with a defence against any future lowering of the age limit.

A second crisis arose in the early months of 1971 when, just as the first course materials were to be delivered to the students there was a national postal strike. The problem was solved by using road services to deliver course material to local study centres where they were collected by the students, and the strike

shortly came to an end. If the strike had been protracted, or if trade unionists at the Open University had insisted on solidarity with the postal workers, the University would have found it extremely difficult to run its teaching system which relies heavily on regular, fast postal deliveries.

3.4 The attitude of others towards the Open University

The initial scepticism of the mass-media and other observers concerning the Open University during the policy-formulation stage appears to have been dispelled when the University actually came into operation. In this section we examine how this came about.

Some people felt that there would be little demand for Open University courses and that the pool of would-be students would soon dry up. In fact there were over 43,000 applications for admission in the first year. The number fell off somewhat in each of the next two years but then increased again, possibly as a consequence of the publicity given to the first graduates. In recent years applications have consistently numbered over 40,000. Other critics felt that the drop-out rate would be so high as to be unacceptable for an institution of university status yet this argument is seldom heard nowadays.

Undoubtedly the Open University has proved popular and many students have succeeded with their courses but the ways in which the Open University has dealt with this information, and hence influenced public opinion, should also be considered. Firstly the Open University undertakes a substantial publicity campaign each year to maintain the level of demand. Secondly, when noting the ratio of applications to available places, the Open University places little stress on the fact that some 30% of applicants decline the offer of a place and that some double-counting takes place as many people are re-applicants. Thirdly, the success rates for students are calculated from a base which favours the Open University. Each year one in four new students drop-out from the Open University in the first three months of study whereas success rates and graduation rates are published on the basis of

those students who "finally register" after this three month trial period.

The Open University is a very public university in that its course units and broadcasts are visible and widely available. Undoubtedly much of the Open University's prestige has arisen from the quality and academic standard of these materials. While this makes the production costs relatively high, one feels that if the Open University had settled for mimeographed study notes and hastily improvised broadcasts then it would have been less attractive for students and non-students alike.

The Open University now attracts support from both major political parties. The Labour Party can point to the fact that they produced the original idea and the Conservative Party that they provided the initial funding. Ideologically the Open University appeals to the left and the concept of second-chance education, and to the right and the concept of self-help. More pragmatically neither party would wish to antagonise such a substantial body of voters by curtailing the Open University's activities, nor would they wish to interfere with an educational innovation which has come to be known and admired throughout the world.

It is probably fair to say that the Open University has now become accepted by others in the post-compulsory education sector. In part this has occurred because of the standard of Open University courses and of Open University students, and acceptance has come in the form of recognition of Open University credits and degrees. However, acceptance has also occurred because the Open University has come to be seen as beneficial for them or at least non-threatening. In higher education the Open University provided material for their own courses, offered part-time jobs for their staff, and rented their buildings for summer schools. In adult and further education it was seen that the Open University did not rob them of their students and in many cases created extra demand for preparatory and "back-to-study" courses.

The mass-media now regard the Open University as a success story

and continue to find news value in the latest crop of graduates. Carefully managed press conferences result in national coverage of "the plumber with a B.A.","the 90 year-old graduate" etc. and localised press releases produce news items on individual students in regional newspapers. However, the public nature of the Open University has ensured that its "faults" have also received wide coverage. Examples include the accusation of Marxist bias in one of its social science courses, criticism of the scheme to allow prisoners to take Open University courses, and reports on the behaviour of Open University students at residential summer schools. In general the Open University has managed to play down the effects of such publicity and, coming as it did when the Open University was firmly established, the long-term effects appear to have been minimal.

3.5 The financial climate

Britain during the 1970's has been beset by economic crises and public spending cuts have been common-place. The Open University too has suffered cuts but on the whole it has fared no worse than other sectors of education. In fact some would claim that the Open University has fared better than other universities, mainly because it is funded directly by the government rather than through the University Grants Council. The University has always managed to jusitfy its high level of funding by pointing to the great surplus of applications over places available and by arguing that a growth in student numbers would allow it to become more cost-effective. The main financial problems have arisen from the timing of funding decisions, which often occur too late for the University's planning cycle.

When cuts have had to be made, the Open University has managed to absorb them without too much visible damage to its programme. Student fees have only risen in pace with inflation and the necessary savings have been made by reducing student intakes, and hence the number of part-time regional teaching staff, and by making fewer new courses.

3.6 Some internal developments

In an earlier section we suggested that the Open University went ahead as planned due largely to the powerful leadership of Perry and the short time-scale involved. In December 1970 Perry suffered a heart attack and was absent from the University for three months. During this period the University divided itself into faculties, generally with elected Deans, and on Perry's return certain of his powers were devolved onto three Pro-Vice Chancellors with responsibility for planning, staff and student affairs. While Perry's illness appeared to trigger these events, the devolution of power and the rapid proliferation of committees and democratic decision-making processes were perhaps inevitable given the nature of the Open University's staff and the growing complexity of the teaching system. However, it is interesting to consider the impact of these changes on the Open University's development.

We have noted that the Open University offers far more courses than was envisaged by the Planning Committee and this seems at least partly due to the creation of independent faculties. Getting away from the original idea of general degrees, faculties have argued that they want students to be able to construct degrees within a single faculty, or even within a single discipline. This has led to fierce inter-faculty debates concerning the number of courses each faculty should provide and appropriate staffing levels as Science and Technology courses take more man-power to create.

One might have hypothesised that democratisation of the Open University would have led to significant departures from the Planning Committee's original proposals. However, while certain innovations have undoubtedly occurred, the majority opinion would seem to be that the highly complex committee structure has had a stultifying effect. Members of staff spend more and more time actually sitting on committees and creative ideas tend to be blocked as they move through the decision-making process.

The basic course structure advocated by the Planning Committee,

involving correspondence, broadcasting and face-to-face teaching elements, has generally been adhered to. In part this would seem to be a consequence of the heavy workload faced by academic staff. With new courses constantly being created, or old ones remade, the tendency is to repeat the tried and trusted formula. Also there is a tendency for course teams to request the maximum resources for their own course. When planning the course they often ask for television and radio programmes and summer schools regardless of whether they are strictly necessary.

A number of innovations in course design have emerged. Criticisms, both from outside and within the university, concerning the highly-structured teaching materials offered to students have led to an increased use of "project-based learning". In 1979 over a quarter of the courses had project components and one technology course was entirely project-based. With guidance from their tutors, students select a subject within the appropriate discipline and conduct a piece of academic research. A second innovation is the use of "formative assignments" which are not assessed but are used merely to assist the student in his learning. A third innovation which does not appear to have been taken up to any great extent is that of "low resource courses". Such courses would be pruned to the bare minimum with no expensive course units and no broadcasting component. However, while the Open University could vastly increase its provision of courses in this way, they would seem to hold little appeal for the academics who would be called upon to produce them.

Some innovations have arisen for pragmatic reasons. For instance half credit, and some even smaller courses arose because courses were taking much longer to create than was foreseen and it was necessary for the Open University to have second and higher level courses available for students completing their foundation courses. The decision to assist students on higher level courses to form "self-help" groups, while eminently desirable for educational reasons, came with the realisation that the Open University would be unable to provide regular tutorials for small and scattered populations.

On Perry's insistence, the first members of academic staff were given tenured appointments. Many of the later appointments were made on a contract basis which was in line with the Planning Committee's proposals. However, this was largely due to uncertainties concerning long-term funding and following union pressure the great majority were converted into tenured posts. The creation of this large body of relatively young, well-qualified and tenured academics produced, or contributed to, certain developments in the University and its teaching system. Firstly it influenced the quality of the course units. Academics are judged on their publications by their peers and therefore it was important for them that the units should be academically "respectable" and also well produced. The course units therefore became teaching texts rather than guides to the work of other authors. This inevitably led to staff increases as the courses took longer to create. Furthermore, if the Open University was to become a true university, with a due emphasis on research, then extra facilities would have to be provided. This has led to extra expenditure and staff increases in the form of laboratories, technicians, research assistants etc.

The level of activity in the regions has also developed well beyond that envisaged by the Planning Committee, but the reasons for this are difficult to determine. According to Perry the decision to provide face-to-face teaching was prompted by the level and quality of applications received for the posts of correspondence tutor:-

> "The availability of high quality tutors in all regions, and indeed in nearly all localities, led to a change of policy which was to have a profound effect upon the university. It opened up the prospect of providing an element of face-to-face tuition for our students. This was a very attractive idea, for both staff and students knew that face-to-face teaching worked and was enjoyable".[68]

Class tutorials were to act as a safety-net if the distance-teaching system failed and were to be regarded "not as an integral

part of the teaching programme but as "remedial" ".[69] Further regional staff increases became necessary as members of the central Regional Tutorial Services stressed the need for continuous counselling of students and for the creation of Staff Tutors and Senior Counsellors to liaise with central academic staff.

The Open University's first attempts in the post-experience courses area proved to be very disappointing with very little public demand for the courses which were offered. The University's response was to limit its work in this area for the next few years and to set up a Committee on Continuing Education under the Chairmanship of Sir Peter Venables. Following the report of this Committee in 1976 the Open University established a Continuing Education Division to expand and co-ordinate courses offered outside the undergraduate programme. As explained earlier, people taking these courses are known as Associate Students and the courses fall into three main categories; specially written "post-experience" courses; courses taken from the undergraduate programme, and short "community education" courses. While the Planning Committee stressed the need for post-experience courses it is the other two types of courses which form the major part of Associate Student programmes, as Table 8 shows.

Finance has formed the major factor in the development of the Associate Student programme as the DES has insisted that the courses in this area should be self-financing. Student fees must cover the full economic costs of course production and are therefore much higher than for the undergraduate programme. The Community Education courses have been successful because, apart from the high level of public interest in the subjects covered, fees have been kept low through external funding and the shortness of the courses themselves. The undergraduate courses in the programme are costly to the student but they do not involve the Open University in major production costs as the courses have already been created. The post-experience courses remain the problem area. At the moment courses are offered in in-service teacher training and health and social welfare and there are plans for courses in management and commercial and industrial training. Perry feels that

the programme can only succeed if:-

> "the government agrees to subsidise a continuing education programme, or if employing authorities agree to subsidise individual courses in a continuing education programme which meets the needs of their employees, or if we mount only courses which attract sufficiently large numbers of students and are sufficiently cheap to produce for fees to be kept at an acceptable level".[70]

3.7 The Open University's informal goals and the implementation process

As noted earlier, the Open University's modest record in attracting working-class students has been defended in two ways. Firstly, by pointing out that this was never explicitly mentioned in the original objectives and secondly by showing that the majority of students came from working-class homes. Nevertheless Perry has stated that he and his colleagues shared "a desire to inc ease the proportion of working class applications and admissions and to do something for the deprived groups in the community".[71] He has also acknowledged the widely held views concerning the informal goals of the Open University by referring to "... that segment of the population for whom the institution was initially designed, namely the lower socio-economic groups which include most of the educationally deprived members of the community".[72] Why then nas so little happened?

As Jackson pointed out, if the Open University wanted working-class students it would have to "go out and get them". In fact the Open University's publicity campaigns have largely been aimed at middle class audiences by means of advertising in quality newspapers and magazines. This could perhaps be justified by the need to attract the maximum number of applicants using a limited publicity budget. However, in the early years at least, this could be interpreted as a deliberate attempt to attract the "right" kind of student Perry himself confessed that he was not unhappy at the way things turned out as a large working-class intake might have spelt the end of the Open University.

> "This could well have been its fate had we admitted only those in working-class occupations, many of whom would have been ill-prepared; the consequent high drop-out might have been politically damning".[73]

He felt that it would be better to go for working-class students at a later stage. This would give the Open University time to polish its teaching methods so that they might work more effectively for less well prepared entrants, and to achieve the academic recognition that would enable it to tolerate higher drop-out rates. However, although the Open University now seems to have reached this stage in its development, there appears to be little impetus to change its student recruitment strategy. Why this is so is difficult to determine. It may be that the idealism of the first academics has been dissipated or they have moved away to other institutions which do cater for the working-class. It could also be that the centralised mode of course production has led people to be more concerned with producing new and better courses and less concerned with who is being taught. Certainly there is no regular forum where this is discussed.

Besides changing its advertising policy, the Open University could increase the proportion of working-class students by favouring working-class applicants at the admissions stage. Indeed there were some at the University who felt that all working-class applicants should be offered a place but in the early years a compromise was adopted whereby they were given slightly more of the places than their share of applications warranted. Writing in 1976 Perry felt that "we are now probably strong enough to contemplate such a move"[74] but in fact the Open University has moved in the opposite direction with the abandonment of "occupational quotas". This arose partly from the Admissions Committee's dissatisfaction with the occupational data which would have to be used to implement such a policy. On the application form applicants code themselves into one of fourteen broad occupational categories and it was felt that working-class applicants could not be accurately picked out and that applicants could "play the system" by categorising their occupation in such a way as to improve their

chances of gaining a place. However, this decision should also be seen as part of the debate within the Admissions Committee concerning the dangers of "positive discrimination". Discrimination in favour of one group will always discriminate against another. For instance, if manual workers are treated more favourably this will result in a bias against female applicants. If two candidates have identical class and educational backgrounds can one ethically justify favouring the one in a manual occupation over the one in a routine clerical job? In view of these problems the Open University's admissions policy has moved away from "social engineering" and as far as possible attempts to match the student profile to the applicant profile.

Surveys have shown that proportionately fewer of those in the lower socio-economic groups know about the Open University. Many have not heard of the Open University or have inaccurate information about what it involves. Greater publicity amongst these groups could probably increase demand. However, it is also known that those who send for details are less likely to apply for a place, and those who become students are less likely to succeed. It would seem, therefore, that if the Open University really wants to make a significant contribution to working-class education then it must become more appropriate to such people's needs and more suited to their circumstances. Changes would be necessary in many areas including the curriculum, teaching methods and the financing of studies. Whether there is the will to make such changes remains to be seen. Jones[75] in his study of Merseyside shop floor workers and Fielder and Redmond[76] in their report on an experiment in group admission to the Open University involving students with low qualifications, have indicated how the Open University model can be successfully adapted but their work seems to have had little impact on the University as a whole.

PART IV CONCLUSIONS

In this paper we have shown how the Open University has achieved most of the formal aims contained in the report of the Planning Committee and we have also attempted to identify the factors which led to this successful implementation process. While the reasons for a policy's failure are often obvious and dramatic the reasons for success are less easy to pin-point. However, the key factors would seem to be as follows:

(i) Perry and his early staff, assisted by powerful backing from Harold Wilson and Jennie Lee, ensured that the Open University was created and ready to begin teaching by the time of the 1970 General Election. This made it much more difficult for the new Conservative government to cancel the project.

(ii) This short time period between the setting up of the Open University and the commencement of teaching, and the subsequent rapid growth of the University, meant that drastic revisions of the original plans were unlikely. Academics were too busy creating courses, and administrators coping with the huge student numbers, to consider major changes in direction.

(iii) Perry, who helped to formulate the aims with the Planning Committee and who was the Open University's Vice-Chancellor for the first ten years, was a strong influence on the University's development. He was also able to recruit and retain a relatively young, and well-qualified staff who were committed to the original aims.

(iv) The Open University very soon came to be seen as a success. Its popularity among students, their pass rates, and the quality of the teaching material all served to produce a high level of support among the general public, the media, employers etc. This in turn confirmed to members of the University that the original goals were the right ones and did not need to be changed.

(v) The support which the Open University received was extensive but essentially diffuse. Unlike many other successful innovators it did not receive powerful backing from any organised interest groups such as employers or trade unions. However neither was there any real opposition movement. There were many critics elsewhere in education but they spoke as individuals, and events proved their doubts and fears about the Open University to be groundless.

(vi) The most significant event during the implementation process was the election of a Conservative government in 1970. That the Open University survived this appears to be at least partly due to the efforts of a small number of civil servants who were committed to the project. A final decision on the Open University was delayed pending the outcome of the younger students pilot scheme and before this occurred the Labour Party returned to power. By the time the Conservatives regained office the University had become well-established, internationally acclaimed and "de-politicised".

We have also argued in this paper that the Open University has largely failed to achieve its informal goal of attracting large numbers of working-class students. While some members of the University have never accepted this as a goal the Vice-Chancellor himself has acknowledged it on a number of occasions. His argument has been that the Open University could only attempt to achieve this goal once it had become well-established and accepted as a university. However, while gaining acceptance as a university it has also become like other universities whose main aim seems to be to survive and to continue with their present work. Perhaps a decline in applications might provide the stimulus for the University to look further afield for its students, but at the moment there seems to be no attempt to change its clientele.

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APPENDIX

Figures and tables

Figure 1 The Proposed Administrative Structure

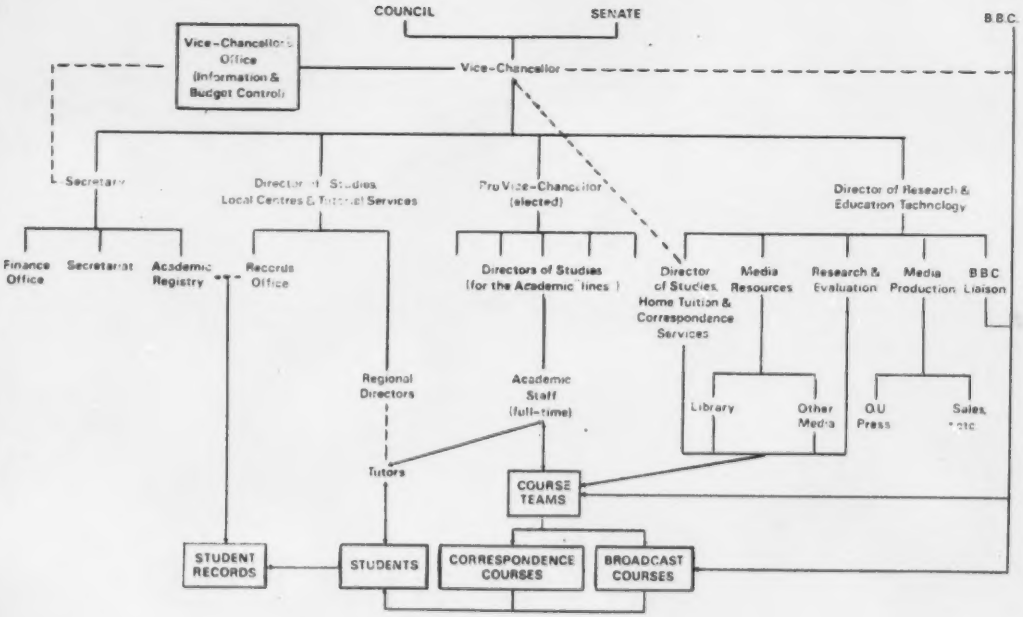
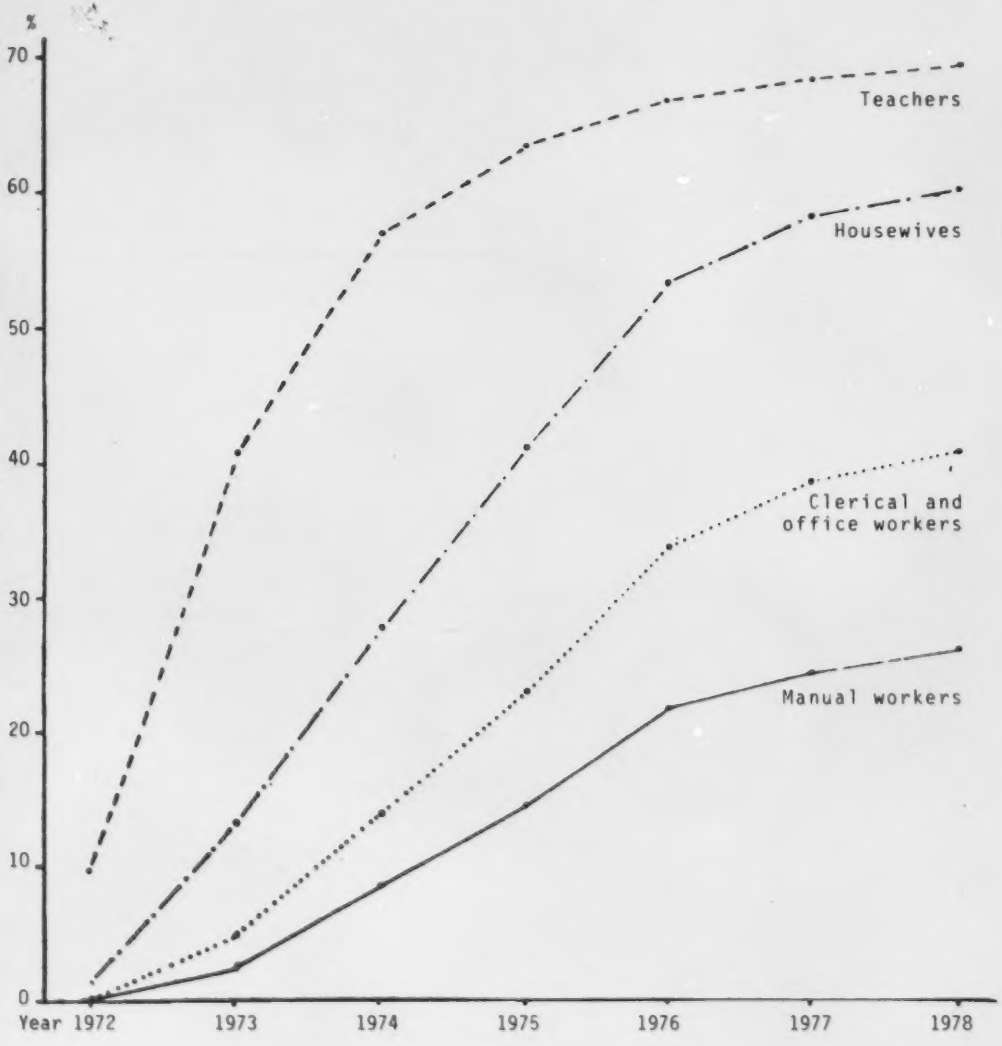


Figure 2 The cumulative proportions of Open University students from the 1971 intake in selected occupational categories graduating over time



Base : all finally registered student in 1971.

Table 1 Summary figures relating to the size and cost of the Open University

a) Student numbers (May 1979)

Undergraduates	61,413
Associate Students	9,098
Higher Degree Students	560
Total	70,511

b) Number of courses available (1979)

Undergraduate programme	123
Associate Student programme	58
Total courses	136*

*45 courses are available in both programmes

c) Staffing levels (1978)

Central full-time academic staff	383
Other central full-time staff	1,628
Total central full-time staff	2,011
Regional full-time staff	618
Regional part-time staff	5,477
Total regional staff	6,095
Total full-time staff	2,629
Total staff	8,106

d) University income (1978)

	£000
Recurrent grant from the DES	29,407
Student registration and tuition fees	3,556
Grants for research	327
Income from marketing	155
Other sources of income	205
Total income	33,650

Table 2 Enquiries, applications and admitted students for undergraduate places (1971-1980)

	Year of Course									
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Enquiries	123,556	77,722	71,757	81,392	109,858	86,433	75,541	87,335	81,783	93,399
Applications	43,444	35,182	32,046	35,011	52,537	52,916	49,956	45,293	42,754	45,311
Admitted Students	24,220	20,501	16,895	14,976	19,823	16,311	19,886	20,882	20,709	19,439

Table 3 The sex of new OU undergraduates (1971-79)

	Year of entry to OU									Home candidates accepted through UCCA	
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1971	1978
Base - all provisionally registered students=100%	24,220	20,501	16,895	14,976	19,823	16,311	19,886	20,882	20,709	5,789[1]	74,339[2]
Sex of student	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Male	74	67	66	62	58	58	58	56	56	65	62
Female	26	33	34	38	42	42	42	44	44	35	38

[1]Source: UCCA Statistical Supplement to the Ninth Report (10% sample)
[2]Source: UCCA Statistical Supplement to the sixteenth Report

- 73 -

Table 4 The occupation of new OU undergraduates (1971-79)

a) ALL STUDENTS	Year of entry									Population of Great Britain in 1971[1]
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	
Base-all provisionally registered students in work 100%	20,712	17,567	14,127	12,915	10,195	11,342	16,088	16,706	16,650	2,179,200
Occupation group[2]	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
i) Administrators & Managers	6	6	5	5	6	6	6	6	6	4
ii) Professional & technical	76(43)[3]	70(35)	69(36)	68(37)	60(30)	61(30)	62(30)	61(30)	62(29)	12 (3)
iii) Lower-level white-collar	14	17	18	20	25	23	23	24	23	36
iv) Manual workers	5	7	8	7	10	10	10	10	9	48
b) MALE STUDENTS		1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	GB: 1971
Base-all provisionally registered students in work 100%		13,390	10,807	8,934	10,956	9,055	10,389	10,995	10,903	1,421,291
Occupation group		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
i) Administrators & managers		7	7	6	8	8	7	7	8	6
ii) Professional & technical		68(31)	67(32)	67(32)	58(25)	58(24)	59(25)	59(25)	60(24)	11 (2)
iii) Lower-level white-collar		16	17	18	21	21	20	20	19	20
iv) Manual workers		9	10	10	14	14	13	14	13	61
c) FEMALE STUDENTS		1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	GB: 1971
Base-all provisionally registered students in work 100%		4,102	3,326	3,482	5,292	4,283	5,091	5,725	5,734	757,909
Occupation group		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
i) Administrators & managers		2	2	2	2	2	3	3	3	1
ii) Professional & technical		76(50)	74(50)	72(48)	66(42)	68(43)	67(42)	66(41)	66(41)	13 (5)
iii) Lower-level white-collar		21	24	25	31	28	29	30	20	63
iv) Manual workers		1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	23

[1]Source: 1971 Census - 10% sample. Figures based on all working people aged 21 and over

[2]Groups based on the Registrar General's Occupational Order: i) = XXIV; ii) = XXV; iii) = XXI-XXIII, XXVI; iv) = I-XX

[3]The figures in brackets indicate the % in education

Table 5 Previous educational qualifications held by new OU undergraduates (1971-79)

	Year of entry								
	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Base-all provisionally registered students= 100%[1]	22,888	20,275	16,743	14,662	19,605	16,262	19,767	20,757	20,647
Previous qualifications	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Two A-levels or equivalent	69	62	62	65	57	59	61	60	61
Less than two A-levels	30(7)[2]	37(9)	38(9)	35(9)	43(11)	41(11)	39(9)	40(10)	40(9)

[1] Students for whom there was no information have been excluded. Some columns do not add up to 100% due to rounding errors

[2] The figures in brackets indicate the % of students with no formal qualifications

Table 6 Differences in first year success rates between new OU undergraduates with high and low previous qualifications

	Year of study							
	1971	1972[2]	1973[2]	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Foundation course								
Art	+ 9	+19	+19	+28	+28	+29	+29	+31
Social Science	+12	+18	+26	+27	+28	+30	+32	+31
Maths	+37	+35	+38	+52	+49	+46	+48	+45
Science	+23	+28	+30	+30	+35	+31	+25	+34
Technology	Not presented	+11	+18	+28	+25	+20	+28	+22

[1]High qualifications = Teachers certificate, University Diploma or University Degree

Low qualifications = No formal qualifications, CSE, RSA or less than five O-levels

[2]The results for 1972 and 1973 are based on the performance of new and continuing undergraduates

Table 7 Father's occupation - a comparison between Open University and conventional university undergraduates

Occupation group *	Open University Jan 1975 intake	Conventional universities Oct 1974 intake	All economically active males aged 45-49 in Great Britain	
			1966 Census	1971 Census
	%	%	%	%
i) Administrators & managers	9	15	6	7
ii) Professional & technical	13	34	8	9
iii) Lower-level white-collar	27	25	22	21
iv) Manual workers	51	26	64	62

* Groups based on the Registrar General's Occupational Orders

i) = XXIV

ii) = XXV

iii) = XXI-XXIII, XXVI

iv) = I-XX

INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

PUBLICATIONS LIST

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NEW AND FORTHCOMING PUBLICATIONS

. CHOMAGE ET EMPLOI EN EUROPE , Actes de la Conférence de la Haye, 29-30 novembre 1979, published under the direction of Jean-Pierre JALLADE, with a foreword by Jacques DELORS, Paris, Economica, 1981, 275p., FF 59,-.

This book contains the various background and discussion papers presented at the Conference on "Employment and Changing Patterns of Life" organised on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the European Cultural Foundation. It deals with topics such as "Lessons of the past twenty years" (Jan TINBERGEN), "Labour supply and unemployment" (Luigi FREY), "Can growth absorb unemployment" (Pierre URI), "Working time policies" (Dieter MERTENS), etc... The English version of this book will appear in the forthcoming months.

. IMPLEMENTATION OF HIGHER EDUCATION REFORMS

A series of case studies, carried out within the framework of the Institute's project conducted by Ladislav CERYCH and aiming at identifying the different factors of achievement and failure of specific higher education policies adopted in Western and Eastern Europe in the course of the 1960's or early 1970's. All studies examine the original goals of the respective policy, its present outcomes and the implementation process which contributed to these outcomes : the role of the various actors (teachers, students, central and local administrators, etc...) involved, of the changing socio-economic environment, of the compatibility or incompatibility of the policy with prevailing values, and the like.

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1) THE NORWEGIAN REGIONAL COLLEGES, a study of the establishment and implementation of a reform in higher education,

by Svein KYVIK, Oslo, Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education, 1981, 136p.

(This study is available both at the Institute of Education and at the Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education, Oslo, free of charge).

2) CREATING A NEW UNIVERSITY : THE ESTABLISHMENT AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TROMSØ,

by Karen BIE, Oslo, Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education, 1981.

(This study is available both at the Institute of Education and at the Institute for Studies in Research and Higher Education, Oslo, free of charge).

3) THE OPEN UNIVERSITY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM, a case study in policy development and implementation,

by Alan WOODLEY, 75p.

(This study is available at the Institute of Education, approx. FF 25,-).

4) LES INSTITUTS UNIVERSITAIRES DE TECHNOLOGIE

by Jean LAMOURE and Yves BERNARD.

(This study is available in French only at the Institute of Education, approx. FF 25,-).

5) GESAMTHOCHSCHULE-ERFAHRUNGEN, HEMMNISSE, ZIELWANDEL

by Ladislav CERYCH, Aylâ NEUSEL, Ulrich TEICHLER and Helmut WINKLER. Frankfurt, Campus Verlag, 180p., approx. DM 30,-

(An abridged English version will be published by the Institute of Education in Summer or early Fall 1981).

b) Available in the Fall of 1981 ;

6) WIDENED ADMISSION TO HIGHER EDUCATION IN SWEDEN, THE 25/5 SCHEME,

by Lillemor KIM

7) THE UNIVERSITY OF NORRLAND,

by Jan-Erik LANE

c) A general report comparing and summarising the findings of the different case studies is in preparation (by Ladislav CERYCH and Paul SABATIER) and will be published in Spring 1982.

. STUDENT FLOWS AND EXPENDITURE IN HIGHER EDUCATION, by Ladislav CERYCH, Sarah COLTON and Jean-Pierre JALLADE

The first part of this report represents a new version of a statistical survey published for the first time in 1976 by the Institute of Education. It covers 10 Western European nations, all countries of Eastern Europe, the USA and Japan and examines trends in overall numbers and their breakdown by type of institution, sex, field of study, age, social background, etc... The second part represents an overview of trends in expenditure in higher education in both Eastern and Western Europe.

(Available as of September 1981, at the Institute of Education)

. FOREIGN STUDENTS : FLOWS AND POLICIES IN AN INTERNATIONAL PERSPECTIVE, by Alan SMITH, Jean-Pierre JAROUSSE and Christine WOESLER

The first part of this report presents an overview of foreign student flows over the past twenty years, considering students from both developed and developing countries. It also provides a synthetic and comparative picture of policies concerning foreign students adopted in the major Western host countries. The second part of the report consists of four case studies analysing in greater depth the developments and policies concerning foreign students in France, Belgium, the United Kingdom and Switzerland.

(Approx. FF. 25-. Available as of mid-July 1981, at the Institute of Education).

. MASS SECONDARY EDUCATION AND THE LABOUR MARKET, by Corrado de FRANCESCO, Utrecht, European Centre for Work and Society, 76p.

In this study prepared by the Institute for the European Centre for Work and Society, the author examines recent developments in Italian secondary education, its democratisation and its relationship with the labour market. He also attempts to ascertain the place of lower class teenagers in secondary schools, to explain why drop-out rates are still high and how instead of a nominal homogeneity of the youth population, there exist new elements of differentiation.

. L'EGALITE DES CHANCES D'ACCES A L'ENSEIGNEMENT : DEUX POINTS DE VUE
  - EGALITE ET EDUCATION, by Henri JANNE
  - LES POLITIQUES EGALITAIRES EN SUEDE : RHETORIQUE ET REALITE, by Torsten HUSÉN

In this occasional paper two complementary points of views on the much debated problem of equality of educational opportunities are presented. While Henri JANNE's paper is more historically and theoretically orientated, Torsten HUSÉN draws conclusions from the practical outcomes of various Swedish reforms.

. OCCUPATIONAL SATISFACTION OF GRADUATES IN THE CONDITIONS OF OVERQUALIFICATIONS, conclusions from two recent U.S. surveys, by Zdenek SUDA

(To be published by the "European Centre for Work and Society", Utrecht)

This report attempts to establish whether the drop in the satisfaction levels among the graduates surveyed, has actually taken place. It also examines the validity of the hypothesis according to which the graduates may respond to the difficulties of securing the desired occupation, by "disconnecting" the value of education from its utility as a career vehicle, by the so called uncoupling of school and work.

. HOCHSCHULZUGANG IN DEN USA UND DER BUNDESREPUBLIK DEUTSCHLAND, Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1980, 270p.

The Institute of Education has provided the statistical chapters of this study, which are a translation from English to German of Ladislav CERYCH's and Sarah PRINCE COLTON's contribution to the European Journal of Education, 1980-1, "Summarising Recent Student Flows". Those chapters also constitute an abridged version of the above mentioned report "Recent Student Flows in Higher Education".

OTHER PUBLICATIONS

SECTION I : OCCASIONAL PAPERS AND REPORTS PUBLISHED BY THE INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION

Occasional Papers

The "Occasional Papers" are short studies or original essays written by members of the Institute or by visiting fellows.

. THE FUTURE OF EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS : COMMENTS ON THE PROPOSALS OF THE "CONTOURS MEMORANDUM"

by Denis KALLEN
1980, 56 p.
Occasional Paper no. 6
ISBN 90 6282 015 8
FF 14.-

This occasional paper is based on a discussion document on the future of education, presented to the Netherlands Parliament. It examines the characteristics of the dutch educational system, the new structures proposed by the Memorandum, and the ways and means of implementing the proposed reforms.

. RAJEUNIR LES ETUDES CLASSIQUES

by Henri BRUGMANS
1980, 34 p.
Occasional Paper no. 7
ISBN 90 6282 016 6
FF 14,-

This occasional paper aims at assessing the present importance of classical studies in the European educational systems. The author believes Europe cannot be really unified until it fully understands and recognizes the importance of its common roots and traditions.

. CONTINUING EDUCATION IN WESTERN AND EASTERN EUROPEAN SOCIETIES : IDEOLOGY AND REALITY

by Wladyslaw Adamski
1978, 30 p., Occasional Paper no. 5
ISBN 90 6282 012 3
FF 10.-

Despite well known political, ideological and cultural differences, one can observe in both Western and Eastern Europe some striking similarities in the nature of these social phenomena which attract public comment and interest. In both systems, post compulsory education is among the top priorities, and the author examines such sources of concern for educationalists as day-time schooling, adult education, lifelong education, etc.

. EQUALITY, IDEOLOGY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY : AN ESSAY IN THE HISTORY OF IDEAS

by Guy Neave
1977, 37 p.
Occasional Paper no. 4
ISBN 90 6282 009 3
FF 10.-

The purpose of the author is to show that the normal interpretation of educational development in terms of "novelty" combined with a strange continuity, is inadequate ; and that for any fuller definition one must also examine changes in values as reflected in the process of public policy.

. LA REFORME UNIVERSITAIRE EN FRANCE ET SES DEBOIRES

by François Bourricaud
1977, 54 p.
Occasional Paper no. 3
ISBN 90 6282 007 7
FF 10.-

This Occasional Paper outlines the main points of the French University Reform after 1945. The author examines the various steps which led to the vote of the "Loi d'orientation" in 1968.

. BILDUNGSREFORM UND INTEGRATIONSPOLITIK

by Burkart Sellin
1975, 37 p.
Occasional Paper no. 2
ISBN 90 6282 003 4
FF 6.-

The author examines a number of current educational reforms, particularly in the Federal Republic of Germany, the United Kingdom and Sweden. He concludes that it is now essential to integrate all forms of higher education and analysee the requirements and problems of such an interpretation.

. ACCESS AND STRUCTURE OF POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION

by Ladislav Cerych
1975, 43 p.
Occasional Paper no. 1
ISBN 90 6282 001 8
out of print

Occasional Paper no. 1, based on an address to the third International Conference on Higher Education at Lancaster in September 1975. The paper reviews the difficulties of considering specific problems of access to higher education without looking at the structure overall reaching the conclusion that a considerably more diffused system than at present is emerging.

Reports

All the Institute's research reports are normally available for publication together with the proceedings of its conferences and workshops.

. THE ADULT STUDENT AND BRITISH HIGHER EDUCATION

by Rowland Wynne
European Cultural Foundation, Institute of Education, 1979, 90 p.
ISBN 90 6282 014 X
FF 15.-

This report, written by Rowland Wynne during his stay at the Institute, considers in detail the opportunities offered to adult students, by the British education system, the developments that have taken place and the barriers that remain in so far as the mature undergraduate is concerned. A statistical annex provides recent figures on adult student enrolments.

. LA FORMATION ET L'EMPLOI : ESSAI SUR LES DESAJUSTEMENTS ACTUELS

by Didier Jeanperrin
1978, 108 p.
ISBN 90 6282 013 1
FF 18.-

The profound and lasting crisis currently besetting industrial societies has aggravated still further the problems surrounding the access of young people to the world of work. In the present study, the author analyses the maladjustment between education and employment, which he sees as being due in large measure to the sweeping changes which have taken place in the education system on the one hand and the labour market on the other. Finally, he takes note of the emergence of certain new conceptions of the liaison between employment and training. The preface has been provided by Jacques Delors.

. EDUCATION AND EMPLOYMENT : THE PROBLEMS OF EARLY SCHOOL-LEAVERS

by Olav Magnussen
1978, 105 p.
ISBN 90 6282 010 7
FF 15,-

This report deals mainly with the employment problems encountered by early school-leavers. The author reviews the main theories and assumptions concerning youth unemployment and confronts them with the available statistical evidence. He then presents some general considerations on policy measures to cope with youth unemployment and analyses a certain number of specific measures taken recently in five European countries and in the United States.

. YOUTH-EDUCATION-EMPLOYMENT : PROCEEDINGS OF AN INTERNATIONAL SYMPOSIUM HELD AT FERE-EN-TARDENOIS (France), APRIL 27-30,1977

1978, 85 p.
ISBN 90 6282 011 5
FF 15.-

This report contains some of the main papers presented at the symposium on Youth-Education-Employment, namely a paper commenting on the potential and limitations of the education system, and another one on the rôle of industry and work in general. A number of suggestions are also made with regard to public policy concerning especially early school-leavers. A statistical annex on youth unemployment closes the volume.

. RECENT STUDENT FLOWS IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by Ignace Hecquet, Christiane Verniers
and Ladislav Cerych
Amsterdam-New York, EEC-ICED, 1976, 189 p.
ISBN 90 6282 004 2
FF 12.50

A comparative analysis of recent student flows in twelve European countries (including three from Eastern Europe), the United States and Japan. The study is based on the most up-to-date obtainable data, and attempts to quantify and analyse the slow-down of enrolments experienced by most European countries in the early seventies.

Also published in French as LES FLUX RECENTS DES ETUDIANTS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR

1977, 200 p.
ISBN 90 6282 008 5
FF 18.-

. BETWEEN SCHOOL AND WORK

edited by Ladislav Cerych
1976, 200 p.
ISBN 90 6282 002 6
Out of Print

The papers presented to an International Symposium on education and work held in Madrid at the end of 1974. The theme of the conference was the discontinuity between "general" and "vocational" education, thought to be one of the most acute problems of our time, given society's increasing sophistication and technical character. The book contains ten papers on this topic, and on new solutions at the upper and post-secondary levels. It has an Introduction by Jack Embling.

. THE INTRA-EUROPEAN MOBILITY OF UNDERGRADUATE STUDENTS

by Jean-Claude Masclet
1976, 76 p.
ISBN 90 6282 005 0
FF 10.-

A report prepared for the European Commission which analyses current problems of student mobility at the undergraduate level. It makes a number of proposals concerned with improving the present arrangements.

Also published in French as LA MOBILITE INTRA-EUROPEENNE DES ETUDIANTS DES PREMIER ET DEUXIEME CYCLES

1975, 81 p.
ISBN 90 6282 006 9
FF 10.-

SECTION II : BOOKS AND REPORTS OF THE INSTITUTE PUBLISHED ELSEWHERE

. JOINT PROGRAMMES OF STUDY. AN INSTRUMENT OF EUROPEAN COOPERATION IN HIGHER EDUCATION

by Alan Smith
Commission of the European Communities, 1979, 188 p.
ISBN 92 825 0884 6
FF 29.-

This report is essentially a progress report on the first years of operation of the Community "Scheme of Grants for the Development of Joint Programmes of Study Between Institutions of Higher Education in Different Member States of the European Community". It examines the philosophy of cooperation and the motivating forces behind the desire to establish such cooperation. The problems encountered by institutions in the development of joint programmes are then analysed and the strategies adopted for their solution described. Finally, the report takes stock of the efficacy of the Community grant scheme and endeavours to sketch out some perspectives for its possible future development.

(Available in all the languages of the European Communities).

. LE DEVELOPPEMENT EUROPEEN DE L'EDUCATION PERMANENTE

by Henri Janne and Bertrand Schwartz
Commission of the European Communities
1977, 92 p.
ISBN 92 825 0454 9
FF 14.50

The object of this report, carried out under the auspices of the Institute of Education, is two fold : first it analyses the necessary conditions for the development of continuing education in EEC Member States, and second it makes a series of recommendations concerning actions and policies to be undertaken by the Commission in this field.

. RESEARCH PERSPECTIVES ON THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK

Report of a European Contact Workshop organised by the Institute of Education (ECF) under the auspices of the Council of Europe with the participation of the Commission of the European Communities, Brugge, 1977.

edited by Dr. Guy Neave
Amsterdam, Lisse, Swets & Zeitlinger
1978, 136 p.
ISBN 90 265 0278 8
FF 42.-

The transition from school to work has long remained on the fringes of educational research. The current economic crisis has, however, removed it from its previous obscurity and placed it in the "forefront" of

concern of governments, international agencies, teachers and employers. This book is an edited version of the research seminar organised by the Institute under the auspices of the Council of Europe and with the participation of the Commission of the European Communities, held in Brugge (Belgium) last July. Methodological problems of research design for investigations in this area are discussed and recommendations for future areas of enquiry are made.

. PATTERNS OF EQUALITY

by Guy Neave
Windsor, NFER, 1976, 150 p.
ISBN 0 85633 114 7
£ 4.60

A report to the European Commission, on the influence of new structures of higher education on the equality of opportunity. It describes the Polytechnics and the Open University of the United Kingdom, the "vise skole" in Yugoslavia, the "Gesamthochschule" in Germany, the "District Colleges" in Norway and the "Instituts Universitaires de Technologie" in France. A postscript shows the significance of this study in the context of Britain today.

Also published in French as NOUVEAUX MODELES D'ENSEIGNEMENT SUPERIEUR ET EGALITE DES CHANCES : PERSPECTIVES INTERNATIONALES

Commission of the European Communities, 1978, 136 p.
ISBN 92 825 0451 4
FF 18.-

. EDUCATIONAL LEAVES FOR EMPLOYEES. EUROPEAN EXPERIENCE FOR AMERICAN CONSIDERATION

by Konrad von Moltke and Norbert Schneevoigt
San Francisco, London, Jossey Bass
1977, 269 p.
ISBN 0 87589 316 3
$ 12.95

This book is a study of educational leave policies in nine European countries with particular emphasis on four - France, Germany, Sweden, and Italy - who have introduced major legislation in this direction. It analyses the problems involved and draws a number of conclusions for the future. The study was originally prepared for the Carnegie Council on Policy Studies in Higher Education, and has a foreword by Clark Kerr.

EDUCATION WITHOUT FRONTIERS

edited by Gabriel Fragnière

London, Duckworth, 1976, 207 p.
ISBN 0 7156 0988 2 (cloth cover)
0 7156 1162 3 (paper back)
£ 8.95 (cloth cover)
£ 3.95 (paper back)

The final report from the education project of Plan 2000 which draws together the main conclusions from the various studies undertaken during the project, and points to six priorities for action in the future : structure, diversification of resources, regionalisation, the status of teachers, the relationship between education and employment and how best to institutionalize innovation.

Also published in French as L'EDUCATION CREATRICE

Paris, Elsevier, 1975, 192 p.
ISBN 2 8003 0122 8
FF 34.-

Also published in German as LERNEN FUR EIN NEUES JAHRUNDERT

Frankfurt, Diesterweg, 1976, 166 p.
ISBN 3 425 07923 9
28 D.M.

. LA FORMATION DES ENSEIGNANTS DEMAIN

par Gilbert de Landsheere
Paris, Casterman, 1975, 298 p.
ISBN 2 203 20218 1
FF 45.-

A study from Plan Europe 2000, concerned with a number of particular problems for the teaching profession such as recruitment, status, and research, but also more generally with the need to unify the profession at all its levels in response to what the author sees as a steady coming-together of educational structures.

SECTION III : *EUROPEAN JOURNAL OF EDUCATION, Research, Development and Policies*

(formerly Paedagogica Europaea)

Carfax Publishing Company, Oxford.
Obtainable directly from the publisher
$ 98,- for institutions
50% discount for individuals.

European Journal of Education is now published quarterly. The first and main part of each issue is devoted to articles focussing on a particular topic : thus every issue is a "theme number". The 2nd section

includes extracts, summaries and, occasionally, comments on official government publications which constitute important developments in educational policy both in a national and international setting. Part 3 is an extended survey by an invited scholar, dealing with recent empirical and theoretical findings in a particular area of study. Part 4 consists of book reviews covering the main European linguistic area.

The first issue of 1980 has been devoted to the biennial *"Review of New Trends in European Higher Education"*. It provides a synthetic and comparative overview of developments which in the past two years or so have characterised European Higher Education and aims at sparking off a wider debate on these developments and issues by placing national events into a general European perspective.

The other issues of 1980 are devoted to :

Volume 15 no. 2. June 1980
Theme : *Reforms in Upper Secondary Education.*

Volume 15 no. 3. September 1980
Theme : *Prospects for Education in the Light of Progress in Technology.*

Volume 15 no. 4. December 1980
Theme : *Research in Higher Education : Towards a New Balance Between Teaching and Research.*

As for 1981, the issues will be devoted to :

Volume 16 no. 4 1981
Theme : *Towards European Cooperation in Education.*

Volume 16 no. 3 1981
Theme : *Education and Demography.*

Volume 16 no. 2 1981
Theme : *Changing Links between Secondary and Higher Education.*

Volume 16 no. 1 1981
Theme : *Education and Work.*